M. L.

LIVES

OF

ISAAC HEATH,

AND

JOHN BOWLES,

ELDERS OF THE CHURCH,

AND PRINCIPAL FOUNDERS OF THE

GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN ROXBURY:

AND OF

REV. JOHN ELIOT, JR.,

PREACHER TO THE INDIANS,

AND FIRST PASTOR OF THE CHUHCH IN NEWTON.

BY J. WINGATE THORNTON.

[FOR PRIVATE DISTRIBUTION.]

MDCCCL.

HEATH.

Heath, a pure Saxon word, the name of a plant or shrub of the genus *erica*, of many species, soon came to signify a place overgrown with heath, and finally has a more general signification meaning a place overgrown with shrubs of any kind. The most venerable record of England, the Doomsday book, proves that it was very early used to designate individuals or families who may have lived on a *heath*, and in time, as sur-names came into use to distinguish families, and became hereditary, *Heath* was attached to some, by the accident of their locality, and thus by its origin must be classed with local sur-names. As heaths must have been pretty common in England a thousand years ago, it is presumed that the same circumstances would give the name to individuals in various parts of the country, and it thus affords no evidence of any consanguinity at a remote period. Heath is a sur-name common in England, occurring in Durham, Middlesex, Norfolk, Kent, Hertford-

shire, Surrey and other counties, bearing as many different coats of armor of various heraldic distinctions. There are several towns of this name in England.

The Heaths of Kepyer, in the county of Durham, were derived from John Heath of London, Warden of the Fleet, who died in 1591. He was son of John Heath of Twickenham, and grandson of John Heath of Heath, county of Middlesex. Sir Robert Heath, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was descended from the family in Kent and Surrey. While Attorney General of Charles 1st, he obtained a patent from his royal master of a vast territory at the south.†

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, under the auspicious influences of the protestant reformation, and the spirit begotten in the English nation by the grand designs of Sir Humphry Gilbert, the Father of American Colonization, and the enterprises of his brother Sir Walter Raleigh—were born and educated the men and women designed by Providence to give birth to a new nation, on a new continent, with new institutions founded not on Magna Charta, or the grants of monarchs, but on the "Rock of Ages," having their life in the piety and knowledge—the manhood of the people.

The memory of those who were so honored by God in his benign Providence, should be honored by us who are in the enjoyment of the blessings they

† Holmes' Annals, I. 207.

bequeathed to their posterity. We can show no better evidence of our own virtue and intelligence than to cherish their names and services with filial affection and veneration. Let not those who have "the mercy of a good descent" from these nobles mar their fair inheritance by ignoble lives or deeds. The Puritans were the spiritual successors and descendants of that ancient and widely spread body existing under various names, in France, Germany and England, and who cannot be better designated by a general name than that of "the Reformed before the Reformation." The Puritans were the noblest men the world ever saw, and to them, under the Providence of God, it is mainly indebted for that true liberty which will sweep away oppresssion under every power, with omnipotent force.

Vaughan says, "it is the confession of their enemies that to this people we owe the whole freedom of our constitution." They were "the great conservators of English liberty as then secured by law and the means of transmitting it to future generations in a form still more safe and simple. Many thousands of the most upright and industrious of the people emigrated to America, most of them taking sufficient property with them to become planters. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, were the settlements in which they sought an asylum. The historian of the Puritans† possessed the names of nearly eighty clergymen who during this period ac-

† Mather's Magnalia.

companied pious bands of exiles to the new world. Among these was Eliot, whose zeal procured him the honorable name of the Apostle to the Indians, and whose perseverance supplied that people with the Sacred Scriptures in their own tongue."†

Among these people, in 1585, Isaac Heath, the subject of this memoir was born and ten years later Elizabeth ———, who was to be his future wife. About the year 1631, a small band of these puritans, yielding to the might of their oppressors, and informally associated at Nazing in the county of Essex, in England, agreed with Mr. John Eliot, who was about twenty-seven years of age, and had graduated at Jesus College in Cambridge University, eight years before, to be their teacher, guide and associate in the hazards, privations and difficulties of securing a retreat and home, and in organizing their community, in the wilderness of New England, "that we might afflict ourselves before God to seek of him a right way for us and for our little ones, and for all our substance."

Nazing, the home of our fathers, around which were clustered the affections and remembrances of their youth, comprises the north-west corner of Waltham Half Hundred in Essex, and is situated on the east side of the river Lea, about 17 miles from London, bounded on the east and south by Waltham Abbey and Epping; the village near the church, is small, and called Upper-Nazing; about a mile dis-

† Vaughan's History of England—pp. 45. 46. 275.

tant, at the bottom of the hill, on which the church stands, is a little hamlet, called Lower-Nazing. It was one of 17 lordships bestowed by Harold on his Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross. In Ogbourne's history of Essex, there is an elegant engraving of the ancient church, which was repaired in 1638, and is in fine preservation.

There are several passages in the Apostle's records, of singular interest, being the only indication of the locality of the colonists in England, which has been preserved to us. They reflect a few scanty rays of light, back through more than two centuries, to the village chuch at Nazing, where were "many of the church enjoying society together," and gathering courage for the dark voyage across the Atlantic, and the untried perils of the western wilds, — driven away by the illiberal and unwise counsels of Archbishop Laud, whose memory, though he was a patron of learning, has little claim to the respect of those who wish well to the cause of religion and humanity.

In recording † the deaths of two of their company in November of 1644, he added, "*these two brake the knot first of the* NAZING CHRISTIANS, *I meane they first died of those christians yt came from yt towne in England.*" One of these arrived in the spring of 1633,‡ and the other in 1637, the last of whom "joyned to the church soone after his coming, being as well known as was his" younger "brother § who came to N. E. in the year 1635, soone after

† Eliot's cnh. rec. fol. 467. ‡ Fol. 37. § Fol. 41.

his coming joyned to the church, and was a lively christian, *known to many of the church in old England, where many of the church enjoyed society together*."† These notes, also show, that the "Nazing Christians" did not come in one company, but left England at such times as they could escape, or circumstances would permit. It is certain that one of them did not arrive till the year 1637, and they probably continued to come as late as 1640, during a period of, at least, nine years. Their wills and other legal instruments show that they were, to a considerable extent, connected by family ties and relationships in England, which renders it probable that Nazing may have been the place of their origin, and not merely a temporary residence.

There is no presumptive evidence, that the Apostle Eliot was born there, other than his connection with the Nazing Christians, and the parish register does not contain the entry of his birth or baptism.‡ The distinguished Dr. Leusden of the University of Utrecht, dedicated a book to "the very reverend and and pious John Eliot, the indefatigable and *faithful minister of the church of Ripon*, being now in the 84th year of his age, and Venerable Apostle of the Indians in America." Ripon is in Yorkshire.

† Eliot's chh. rec. fol. 34.

‡ The parish register at Nazing, contains an entry of the baptism of John Eliot, in Feb. 1602, and in the register of burials of the same month and year, is the entry of John Eliot "infans." In 1610 and 1615, are entries of baptisms of "Lidia" and "Frances" Eliot. At St. Stephen's Middlesex, John, son of Richard Eliot, was baptized 7 April, 1602.—H. G. Somerby.

A portion of the company was soon gathered on these shores, and selected for their settlement, an elevated place, about three miles from Boston, which they called "Rocksbrough" or Rocksbury, as descriptive of the locality; but their number was so small, at the first, that they "joyned to the church at Dorchester, untill such time as God should give them opportunity to be a church among themselves."†

Mr. Eliot arrived at Boston in the autumn of 1631, and ministered to the church there, in the temporary absence of their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, who was in England; an engagement which occasioned some difficulty to his Roxbury friends about a year after, in July, 1632, when they had become sufficiently numerous to organize as a church, and were ready to fulfill the engagement made in England. The struggle between the Boston and Roxbury churches, to secure the ministry of Eliot, furnishes evidence of the early appreciation of his excellence. A statement of the case is in Eliot's brief account of himself, found in his register of the colonists,‡ which is interspersed with occasional biographical notes: "Mr. Eliot; he came to N. E. in the 9th month, 1631. He left his intended wife in England, to come the next yeare, he adjoyned to the church at Boston, and there exercised in the absens of Mr. Wilson, the pastor of yt Church, who was gone back to

† Apostle Eliot's church records, fol. 16.

‡ Published in the appendix.

England for his wife and family. The next summer Mr. Wilson returned and by yt time the church at Boston was intended to call him to office, his friends wr come over and settled at Rocksbrough, to whom he was foreingaiged, yt, if he were not called to office before they came, he was to joyne wth them, whereupon the church at Rocksbrough called him to be Teacher in the end of yt summer and soone after he was ordained to yt office in the church. Also his wife came along wth the rest of his friends the same time and soone after theire comeing they were married, viz. in the 8th month, 1632."†

Winthrop says, "though Boston laboured all they could, both with the congregation of Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alleging their want of him and the covenant between them, &c., yet he could not be diverted from accepting the call of Roxbury, November 6th, so he was dismissed.‡ He was a passenger in the Lyon, William Pierce, master, which arrived at Nantasket, November 2d. There came in her, Winthrop's wife and family and others, being in all about sixty persons, who all arrived in good health, having been ten weeks at sea.§

Anna Mumford, or Mountfort, Eliot's betrothed, came in the same vessel, probably, in which he crossed the Atlantic, and which cast anchor in Boston harbor, on the evening of the Lord's day, Sep-

† Eliot's Records, fol. 34.

‡ Winthrop, I. 93. § Winthrop, I. 63—64.

tember 18th, having one hundred and twenty-three passengers,† a portion of whom, doubtless, constituted an addition to the Roxbury church, and influenced his decision in their favor.

In the manuscript volume of their simple annals, written by their beloved Eliot, and now known as the Records of the First Church in Roxbury, are mentioned the dates of their arrivals in this country, some of them having remained in England several years after the departure of Eliot.

Here they commenced the experiment of self-government, under the simplest forms of voluntary, civil and religious associations, the last of which controlled the whole.‡

Their thatched meeting-house was on an eminence, ever since and still occupied for the same purpose, and where has ever been cherished the spirit of Christian liberty which, John Robinson uttered in 1620 to the Plymouth Pilgrims on their embarkation at Delft-haven, "Brethren we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows: but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry, for I am fully persuaded, I am

† Winthrop. I. 30. ‡ Ibid I. 70, 152, 178, 268.

very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word."

Who can limit, in his imagination, the influences which have flowed from the gatherings of those few, earnest, working enthusiasts, in obscurity, poor and feeble? What power, and strength were latent, in that band of fervent, praying, toiling outcasts assembled on that little eminence which overlooked the peninsula? They were half conscious of the great result which was to follow their labours, and there and then defined and matured the means of producing it. The very earth is hallowed in the heart of him who contemplates the scene and its consequences. From a few similar settlements which dotted the shores of these wilds, has arisen the nation, whose prosperity has been, and safety is in obedience to the wisdom and precepts begotten in England and born here amidst poverty and hardship.

On the 11th of September, 1635, Isaac Heath, at the mature age of fifty years, accompanied by his wife and daughter Elizabeth, a child five years old, "imbarked in the Hopewell," Thomas Ball, master, for New England. "Hopewell" was an appropriate and felicitous name for the vessel which in several voyages brought many colonists to New England. Here he met his brother William, whom Eliot eulogized as "able, godly and faithful," and who had arrived about three years before, bringing with him five children. He was a member of the first legislative body convened in Massachusetts, 14th of May, 1634. They had a brother Peleg Heath also of Rox

bury. Early in 1636,† he took the "freeman's oath," and was elected by his townsmen to represent them in the legislature in 1637–8. About the same time he was chosen by them to the office of a "Ruling Elder," the highest honor that they could confer — a special recognition of his prudence, wisdom and godliness. This office placed him in intimate relation with Eliot, who consulted him in all his plans and difficulties, and to his zeal and worth bears frequent testimony, a portion of which will be given as matter of historical interest. The Rev. Samuel Sewall in his learned and accurate treatise‡ on ancient ecclesiastical usages, says that "a large proportion at least, of the first settlers in New England regarded the office of Ruling Elders, as of Divine institution, and appealed to 1 Cor. xii. 28. and 1 Tim. v. 17. as warranting this persuasion. The title of these officers is descriptive of their rank and work in the church. They were *Elders* in common with the Pastor and Teacher: and as it was their duty to assist the teaching officers or officer in *ruling* or conducting the spiritual affairs of the church, (in admitting, for instance, or excluding members, inspecting their lives and conversations, preventing or healing offences, visiting the sick, and administering occasionally a word of admonition or exhortation to the congregation,) they obtained the name of *Ruling Elders:* whereas Pastors and Teachers, by way of dis-

† Hist. Gen. Reg. III. 94, II. 104, 105.

‡ American Quarterly Reg. August, 1840, pages 40, 41.

tinction were sometimes called Teaching Elders, because it was eminently their duty to *teach*, or minister the word. Ruling Elders were anciently ordained and were sometimes addressed by the appellation of *Reverend*. The place of the Ruling Elders in the congregation was an elevated seat between the Deacon's seat and the pulpit." Bishop Burnet says† that the "Ruling Elders were taken from the Geneva pattern, to assist, or rather to be a check on the ministers, in the managing the parochial discipline," and in 1638, they became part of the Scottish ecclesiastical assemblies. It was customary with us, for many years, for the legislature, or public authorities, to summon the Elders to consult upon public affairs, as for instance, in 1646, when they were convened in relation to the Indian affairs. Mr. Heath continued in this office during his life.

There is a curious memorandum signed by him and John Stow, about 1639, "to pay Goodwife Burt for her boy ye full tyme that he did keepe the goats and kidds" to secure their safety. In "a note of ye estates and persons of ye Inhabitants of Roxbury," made about 1640, he and Thomas Bell appear to have been among the wealthiest men, and about 60 goats and 20 kids, were the whole of the flocks belonging to the settlement.

The agreement with a subscription to raise a school fund, the beginning of the free school in Roxbury,

† Hist. of his own times. London. 1850. I. 20.

was made Aug. 31, 1645. The agreement recites that "*Whereas*, the inhabitants of Roxburie out of their religious care of posteritie, have taken into consideration how necessarie the education of theire children in literature will be to fit them for public service both in Church and Commonwealthe in succeeding ages, They, therefore, unanimously have consented and agreed to erect a free schoole in the said Town of Roxburie and to allow twenty pounds per annum to the Schoolmaster to be raised out of the messuages and part of the lands of the several donors (inhabitants of the said town) in several proportions as hereafter followeth under their hands. And for the well ordering thereof they have chosen and selected seven feoffees who shall have power to put in or remove the schoolmaster, to see to the well ordering of the schoole and scholars, to receive and pay the said twenty pounds per annum to the schoolmaster and to dispose of any other gifte or giftes which hereafter may or shall be given for the advancement of learning and education of children." Ellis' history of Roxbury, pages 35–9, contains the document complete and all of the donors' names.

To put the existence and permanence of the school beyond all hazard, on the eighteenth day of December, 1646, Tho. Dudley, Thos. Weld, John Eliot, Isaac Heath, Isaac and John Johnson, Thomas Gardner and eight others agreed "for themselves severally, and their severall and respective heirs and executors that not only their houses, but also

their yards, orchards, gardenings, outhouses and homesteads shall be and are hereby bound and be made liable to and for the severall yearly sums and rents," exhibiting a degree of public spirit and devotion, the more remarkable, when we consider their poverty and the struggles for existence which they were then making. Their generous sacrifices in the cause of education should secure our appreciation of the blessings they gave us, and their far reaching providence, command our public acknowledgment. The city in some suitable manner, should give its official testimony to the value of their services by making the name of each Founder of the school familiar to the sight and memory of the successive generations, who by their gifts enjoy opportunities of education, without money and without price. Elder Heath's portion of the public domain was among the largest, and by his will written a short time before his death, he gave the whole of it "to ye school in Roxburie," in addition to what he had contributed in common with his town-men fourteen years before.

The importance the fathers attached to common schools, and the exalted rank attained by that of Roxbury, appears by a passage in Cotton Mather's life of Eliot. It was "his perpetual resolution and activity to support a good school in the town that belonged unto him. A grammar school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like. I cannot forget the ardour with which I once heard

him pray, in a synod of these churches, which met at Boston to consider how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented ; I say with what fervor he uttered an expression to this purpose : 'Lord, for schools every where among us ! That our schools may flourish ! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives ! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country.' God so blessed his endeavors, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town ; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has almost made me put the title of *Schola Illustris*,† upon that little nursery ; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the colledge and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or if I mistake not of twice its bigness in all New England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the streams, which have made glad this whole city of God. I persuade myself that the good people of Roxbury, will for ever scorn to begrutch the cost, or to permit the death of a school which God has made such an honor to them ; and this the rather, because their deceased Eliot has left them a fair part of his estate, for the maintaining of the school in Roxbury ; and

† Among the graduates from Roxbury were the Dudleys, Eliots, Bowles, Walters, Tompsons, Danforths, Paysons, Pierponts, Welds, Graves, and others.—HAR. COL. CATALOGUE.

I hope, or at least, I wish, that the ministers of New England may be as ungainsayably importunate with their people, as Mr. Eliot was with his, for schools which may seasonably tinge the young soules of the rising generation. A want of education for them, is the blackest and saddest of all the bad omens that are upon us."†

The probate records in Suffolk, which then included Norfolk county, contain frequent mention of Elder Heath's name, as "overseer," executor or trustee, offices which, in their nature, are perpetual memorials of the special reliance of his fellow men on his integrity, prudence and friendship, a confidence which he never violated by dishonorable artifice for selfish ends or abused for his own probable or prospective advantage.

Elder Heath, R. Russell, and Edward Tyng, were three lay members of a council held at Boston, September 26, 1659, concerning the long, sad and afflicting controvesy between the Rev. preacher, Mr. Samuel Stone, the honored and dearly beloved brethren of the church of Hartford, on the one part, and the honored dearly beloved brethren, the withdrawers from the said church on the other part, since the relapse after the pacification, May 3d, 1657."‡

Elder Heath's official connection with the Apostle

† Magnalia Christi Americana.

‡ Winthrop, I. 142. 1657, "2 m. Certaine Elders and other Messengers of ye churches in ye Bay went to Hartford and endeavoured to compose ye difficuces betw. ye church there and ye dissenting Brethren."—ELIOT'S CH. REC.

Eliot in the church, and their personal intimacy will, at once, suggest the probability of his interest in the Christian efforts to civilize and evangelize the Indians.

If it can be established, that the Apostle was the author of the tract entitled "The Day-breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel among the Indians in New England," London, 1647, as stated by the publishing committee of the 24th volume of the Massachusetts historical society's collections, in which the tract is reprinted, there is almost conclusive evidence, that Elder Heath preached to the Indians in their own language. The author of the narrative says, in his account of "a third meeting with the Indians," November 26, 1646, "I could not goe myself, but heard from those who went, of a third meeting," and that "the preacher spake unto them," by which it appears, that Eliot was not the author of the tract, or that there was another person who could preach to them, and the story of Wampas or Wamporas, as related on pages 18 and 166–7, of the "collections," both tend to show that Elder Heath was the man, a theory which is strengthened by further evidence in the same volume, and elicits fewer discrepancies than does that of attributing the authorship to Eliot.

Eliot's character for modesty, forbids the idea that he ever wrote respecting himself the following language on the twenty-first page of the "collections:" "Hee that God hath raised up and enabled to preach

unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gratious and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest and surely will still delight in and do good by." The inference, equal to a positive statement is, that only one was able to preach to the Indians, and Winthrop, when present at one of the meetings, in 1646, "heard one of our elders, Mr. John Eliot, preach."†

No "eminently godly and faithful minister" was more favorably located to be an "eye and eare witness," as Ward styles the author of the tract, than the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, whose correspondence is a chief source of information relating to these early movements.

"New England's First Fruits," a small quarto tract of twenty-six pages, published in London, in 1643, contains "the testimony of Mr. *Sh.*, a godly minister in the Bay," respecting "Wequash ‡ the famous Indian at the river's mouth," who was "dead and certainly in heaven." Doubtless Mr. *Sh*eppard was the man who was sending an account of some of the "first fruits" of their labors among them, about three years before the date of the tract of 1646. The title of this tract, the "Clear Sunshine of the Gospel," as well as its introductory pages, favor the idea that he was the author of the previous tract, "the Day Breaking if not the Sun Rising of the Gospel."

† Winthrop's Hist. of Mass. II. 297.

‡ Drake's "Book of the Indians," Book II, ch. VI., p. 105.

The four who went on the memorable first visit to Nonantum, were, probably, ELIOT, GOOKIN, HEATH, and SHEPARD.† Daniel Gookin, the historian of the Indians, was the life-long companion of Eliot, of whom he says :

"I being his neighbor and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprise, he was pleased to communicate unto me the design and the motives that induced him thereunto." To the benevolent and enlightened Gookin, the thought at once commended itself. He wrote, "those that labor in this harvest, are first to endeavor to learn perfectly that first lesson in Christ's school, I mean self-denial. Secondly, to keep the eye of faith fixed upon God, whose work it is, who will never fail to recompense either here, or hereafter, all that work in his harvest. Indeed, if he please to employ and accept us in Christ Jesus, it is a sufficient reward. The principles and motives thereunto were, through grace, of higher alloy than gold, yea, than fine gold." "Many [were our] weary journies among them yearly, and under sundry trials, forced to lodge in their woods and wigwams."

Isaac Heath was Eliot's official adviser and assistant, the venerable elder of more than three score years of age, whose participations in these labors will appear in the following narrative. Thomas Shepard was the minister of Cambridge, and "an eye and ear witness" of all these things. Their path

† Aged 42, 34, 61, 41.

was through the forest, to a place about four miles distant from the village of Roxbury, on the south side of Charles river, on the present Kenrick estate in Newton. It was in a warm, sheltered valley, and near by issued an abundant supply of living water from a fountain which is still noted as "the spring."

"The Indians did desire to know what name it should have, and it was told them it should be called Noonatomen, which signifies in English rejoycing, because they hearing the words and seeking to know God, the English did rejoice at it, and God did rejoice at it, which pleased them much, and therefore that is to be the name of their town." The Rev. Samuel Danforth, afterward, Eliot's colleague, says that "much illumination and sweet affection was in a short time wrought in divers of them and a hopeful reformation begun, in abandoning idleness, filthyness, and other known sines, and in offering up themselves and their children to the English freely and gladly, that they might be the better instructed in ye things of God."†

Here was gathered the first Christian Indian Church in English America. What fitter shrine for the devotions of the successors of those venerable pioneers, than the valley where the "glad tidings" first broke on the ear of the American savage.‡ The spirit of the Christian zeal and patience of these

† Rev S. Sewall in Am. Quar. Reg. Feb. 1839, 262.

‡ It was their first assembly for that purpose.

pioneer missionaries, which is breathed into their graphic and simple narratives,† can be but feebly exhibited in the few extracts here given :

"‡ Upon *October* 28. 1646. four of us (having sought God) went unto the *Indians* inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their *Wigwams*, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome ; who leading us into the principall *Wigwam* of *Waaubon*, we found many more *Indians*, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learne of us. *Waaubon* the chief minister of Justice among them exhorting and inviting them before thereunto, being one who gives more grounded hopes of serious respect to the things of God, than any that as yet I have knowne of that forlorne generation ; and therefore since wee first began to deale seriously with him, hath voluntarily offered his eldest son to be educated and trained up in the knowledge of God, hoping, as hee told us, that hee might come to know him, although hee despaired much concerning himself ; and accordingly his son was accepted, and is now in school at *Dedham*, whom we found at this time standing by his father among the rest of his *Indian* brethren in English clothes.

† Reprinted in the 24th volume of Mass. Hist. Col.

‡ Title of the tract is in the appendix, I.

They being all assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, being not so farre acquainted with the *Indian* language as to expresse our hearts herein before God or them, but wee hope it will be done ere long, the *Indians* desiring it that they also might know how to pray; but thus wee began in an unknowne tongue to them, partly to let them know that this dutie in hand was serious and sacred, (for so much some of them understand by what is undertaken at prayer) partly also in regard of ourselves, that we might agree together in the same request and heart sorrowes for them even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon.

When prayer was ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered; professing they understood all that which was then taught them in their owne tongue; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits. For about an hour and a quarter the Sermon continued, wherein one of our company ran through all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a repetition of the ten Commandments, and a briefe explication of them, then shewing the curse and dreadful wrath of God against all those who brake them, or any one of them, or the least title of them, and so applyed it unto the condition of

the *Indians* present, with much sweet affection; and then preached Jesus Christ to them the onley meanes of recovery from sinne and wrath and eternall death, and what Christ was, and whither he was new gone, and how hee will one day come againe to judge the world in flaming fire; and of the blessed estate of all those that by faith beleeve in Christ, and know him feelingly: he spake to them also (observing his own method as he saw most fit to edifie them) about the creation and fall of man, about the greatnesse and infinite being of God, the maker of all things, about the joyes of heaven and the terrours and horrours of wicked men in hell, perswading them to repentance for severall sins which they live in, and many things of the like nature; not medling with any matters more difficult, and which to such weake ones might at first seeme ridiculous, untill they had tasted and believed more plane and familiar truths.

Having thus in a set speech familiarly opened the principal matters of salvation to them, the next thing wee intended was discourse with them by propounding certaine questions to see what they would say to them, that soe wee might skrue by variety of meanes something or other of God into them; but before we did this we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken, and whether all of them in the *Wigwam* did understand or onely some few? and they answered to this question with multitude of voyces, that they all of them did understand all that which was then spoken to them.

One of them said to us, "that hee was a little while since praying in his *Wigwam*, unto God and Jesus Christ, that God would give him a good heart, and that while hee was praying, one of his fellow Indians interrupted him, and told him, that hee prayed in vaine, because Jesus Christ understood not what *Indians* speake in prayer, he had bin used to heare *English* men pray and so could well enough understand them, but *Indian* language in prayer hee thought hee was not acquainted with it, but was a stranger to it, and therefore could not understand them. His question therefore was, whether Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand *Indian* prayers.

This question sounding just like themselves, wee studied to give as familiar an answer as wee could, and therefore in this as in all other our answers, we endeavoured to speake nothing without clearing of it up by some familiar similitude; our answer summarily was therefore this, that Jesus Christ and God by him made all things, and makes all men, not onely *English* but *Indian* men, and if hee made them both (which wee know the light of nature would readily teach as they had been also instructed by us) then hee knew all that was within man and came from man, all his desires, and all his thoughts, and all his speeches, and so all his prayer; and if hee made *Indian* men, then hee knowes all *Indian* prayers also: and therefore wee bid them looke upon that *Indian* Basket that was before them, there

was black and white strawes, and many other things they made it of, now though others did not know what those things were who made not the Basket, yet hee that made it must needs tell all the things in it, so (wee said) it was here.

Thus after three houres time thus spent with them, wee asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, No. But wee resolved to leave them with an appetite; the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, so wee appointed the time, and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a Town together, which wee did much like of, promising to speake for them to the generall Court, that they might possesse all the compass of that hill, upon which their Wigwams then stood, and so wee departed with many welcomes from them."

"Vpon *November* 11. 1646. we came the second time unto the same Wigwam of *Waaubon*, where we found many more Indians met together then the first time wee came to them: and having seates provided for us by themselves, and being sate downe a while, wee began againe with prayer in the English tongue; our beginning this time was with younger sort of Indian children in Catechizing of them, which being the first time of instructing them, we thought meet to aske them but only three questions in their own language, that we might not clog

their mindes or memories with too much at first, the questions (asked and answered in the Indian tongue) were these three. 1. *Qu.* Who made you and all the world? *Answ.* God. 2. *Qu.* Who doe you looke shoulde save you and redeeme you from sinne and hell? *Answ.* Jesus Christ. 3. *Qu.* How many commandments hath God given you to keepe? *Answ.* Ten. These questions being propounded to the Children severally, and one by one, and the answers being short and easie, hence it came to passe that before wee went thorow all, those who were last catechized had more readily learned to answer to them, by hearing the question so oft propounded and answered before by their fellowes: and the other Indians who were growne up to more yeares had perfectly learned them, whom wee therefore desired to teach their children againe when wee were absent, that so when wee came againe wee might see their profiting, the better to encourage them hereunto, wee therefore gave something to every childe.

This Catechisme being soone ended, hee that preached to them, began thus (speaking to them in their own language) *viz. Wee are come to bring you good newes from the great God Almighty maker of Heaven and Earth, and to tell you how evill and wicked men may come to bee good, so as while they live they may bee happy, and when they die they may goe to God and live in Heaven.*

Various questions were proposed by the Indians. One "asked whether it was not too late for such an

old man as hee who was neare to death to repent or seeke after God;" another inquired "how come the English to differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they all had at first but one father?" Other questions were "how comes it to passe that the sea water was salt, and the land water was fresh?" And "if the water was higher than the earth, how comes it to passe that it doth not overflow all the earth?"

"Having thus spent the whole afternoone, and night being almost come upon us: considering that the Indians formerly desired to know how to pray, and did thinke that Jesus Christ did not understand Indian language, one of us therefore prepared to pray in their own language, and did so for above a quarter of an houre together, wherein divers of them held up eies and hands to heaven; all of them (as we understood afterwards) understanding the same; but one of them I cast my eye upon, was hanging downe his head with his rag before his eyes weeping; at first I feared it was some sorenesse of his eyes, but lifting up his head againe, having wiped his eyes (as not desirous to be seene) I easily perceived his eyes were not sore, yet somewhat red with crying; and so held up his head for a while, yet such was the presence and mighty power of the Lord Jesus on his heart that hee hang down his head againe, and covered his eyes againe and so fell wiping and wiping of them weeping abundantly, continuing thus till

prayer was ended, after which hee presently turnes his face to a side and corner of the Wigwam, and there fals a weeping more aboundantly by himselfe, which one of us perceiving, went to him, and spake to him encouraging words ; at the hearing of which hee fell a weeping more and more ; so leaving of him, he who spake to him came unto mee (being newly gone out of the Wigwam) and told mee of his teares, so we resolved to goe againe both of us to him, and speake to him againe, and wee met him comming out of the Wigwam, and there wee spake againe to him, and he there fell into a more abundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affected indeed, which forced us also to such bowels of compassion that wee could not forbeare weeping over him also : and so wee parted greatly rejoycing for such sorrowing.

Thus I have as faithfully as I could remember given you a true account of our beginnings with the Indians within our owne bounds ; which cannot but bee a matter of more serious thoughts what further to doe with these poore Natives the dregs of mankinde and the saddest spectacles of misery of meere men upon earth: wee did thinke to forbeare going to them this winter, but this last dayes worke wherein God set his seale from heaven of acceptance of our little, makes those of us who are able, to resolve to adventure thorow frost and snow, lest the fire goe out of their hearts for want of a little more fewell : to which we are the more incouraged, in that the next day

after our being with them, one of the Indians came to his † house who preacht to them to speake with him, who in private conference wept exceedingly, and said that all that night the Indians could not sleepe, partly with trouble of minde, and partly with wondring at the things they heard preacht amongst them ; another Indian comming also to him the next day after, told him how many of the wicked sort of Indians began to oppose these beginnings.

November 26. I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went, of a third meeting ; the Indians having built more Wigwams in the wonted place of meeting to attend upon the Word the more readily. The preacher understanding how many of the Indians discouraged their fellowes in this worke, and threatening death to some if they heard any more, spake therefore unto them, about temptations of the Devill, how hee tempted to all manner of sinne, and how the evill heart closed with them, and how a good heart abhorred them ; the Indians were this day more serious than ever before, and propounded divers questions againe ; as 1. Because some Indians say that we must pray to the Devill for all good, and some to God ; they would know whether they might pray to the Devill or no. 2. They said they heard the word humiliation oft used in our Churches, and they would know what that meant ? 3. Why the English call them Indians, because before they came they had another name ? 4. What a Spirit is ?

† Apostle Eliot.

5. Whether they should beleeve Dreames? 6. How the English come to know God so much and they so little? To all which they had fit answers; but being not present I shall not set them downe: onely their great desire this time was to have a place for a Towne and to learne to spinne.

The Lord Jesus will have you see more of his conquests and triumphes among these forlorne and degenerate people; surely hee heares the prayers of the destitute and that have long lien downe in the dust before God for these poore prisoners of the pit: surely some of these American tongues and knees must confesse him, and bow downe before him; for the Saturday night after this third meeting (as I am informed from the man of God† who then preached to them) there came to his house one *Wampas* a wise and sage Indian as a messenger sent to him from the rest of the company, to offer unto him his owne sonne‡ and three more Indian children to bee trained up among the English, one of the children was nine years old, another eight, another five, another foure: and being demanded why they would have them brought up amongst the English, his answer was, because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should doe if they were constantly among the English.

† Apostle Eliot.

‡ His son was received by Elder Heath, and continued with him more than four years.

This *Wampas* came also accompanied with two more Indians, young lusty men, who offered themselves voluntarily to the service of the English that by dwelling in some of their families, they might come to know Jesus Christ; these are two of those three men whom wee saw weeping, and whose hearts were smitten at our second meeting above mentioned, and continue still much affected, and give great hopes; these two are accepted of and received into two of the Elders houses, but the children are not yet placed out because it is most meet to doe nothing that way too suddainly, but they have a promise of acceptance and education of them either in learning or in some other trade of life in time convenient, to which *Wampas* replyed that the Indians desired nothing more.

'Tis wonderfull in our eyes to understand what Prayers *Waaubon* and the rest of them use to make, for hee that preacheth to them professeth hee never yet used any of their words in his prayers, from whom otherwise it might bee thought that they had learnt them by rote, one is this.

Amanaomen Jehovah tahassen metagh.
Take away Lord my stony heart.

Another.

Cherhesom Jehovah kekowhogkow.
Wash Lord my soule.

Another.

Lord lead mee when I die to heaven.

These are but a taste, they have many more, and these more enlarged then thus expressed, yet what are these but the sprinklings of the spirit and blood of Christ Jesus in their hearts? and 'tis no small matter that such dry barren and long accursed ground should yeeld such kind of increase in so small a time. I would not readily commend a faire day before night, nor promise much of such kind of beginnings, in all persons, nor yet in all of these, for wee know the profession of very many is but a meere paint, and their best graces nothing but meere flashes and pangs, which are suddenly kindled and as soone go out and are extinct againe, yet God doth not usually send his Plough and Seedsman to a place but there is at least some little peece of good ground, although three to one bee naught: and mee thinkes the Lord Jesus would never have made so fit a key for their locks, unlesse hee had intended to open some of their doores, and so to make way for his comming in. Hee that God hath raised up and enabled to preach unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gratious and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in, & do good by.

In the autumn of 1650, the Apostle says: † "the present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them together from their scattered kinde of life; First, into Civil Society, then to Ecclesiastical, and both by the Divine direction of

† Mass. Hist. Coll. XXIV. 137—142.

the Word of the Lord ; they are still earnestly desirous of it ; and this Spring that is past, they were very importunately desirous to have been put upon that work, and to have planted corne in the place intended ; but I did disswade, and was forced to use this reason of delay, because I hoped for tools, and means from *England*, whereby to prosecute the work this Summer. But when ships came, and no supply, you may easily think what a damping it was ; and truly my heart smote me, that I had looked too much at man and meanes, in stoping their earnest affections with that barre which proved a Blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to him for help, whose work it is ; and when I had thus looked up to the Lord, *I advised with our Elders* and some other of our Church, whose hearts consented with me ; then I advised with divers of the Elders at *Boston* Lecture, and Mr. *Cotton's* answer was, *my heart sayeth, go on, and look to the Lord onely for help*, the rest also concurring ; So I commended it to our Church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer about it, (together with other causes) and have been ever since a doing, according to our abilities ; and this I account a favor of God, that that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a Ship from *England*, whereby I received Letters, and some encouragement in the work from private friends ; a mercy which God had in store,

but unknown to some, and so contrived by the Lord, that I should receive it as a fruit of prayer.

The place is also of God's providing, as a fruit of prayer; for when I, with some that went with me, had rode to a place of some hopefull expectation, when we came to it, it was in no wise sutable; I went behind a Rock, and looked to the Lord, and committed the matter to him; and while I was travelling in Woods, Christian friends were in prayer at home; and so it was, that though one of our company fell sick in the Woods, so that we were forced home with speed; yet in the way home, the Indians in our company, upon enquiry describing a place to me, and guiding us over some part of it, the Lord did both by his providence then, and by after more diligent search of the place, discover that there it was his pleasure we should begin this work. When grasse was fit to cut, I sent some Indians to mow, and others to make some hay at the place, because we must oft ride thither in the Autumn when grasse is withered and dead, and especially in the Spring before any grasse is come, and there is provision for our horses; this work was performed well, as I found when I went up to them with my man to order it. We must of necessity have an house to lodge in, meet in, and lay up our provisions and clothes, which cannot be in *Wigwams*. I set them therefore to fell and square timber for an house, and when it was ready, I went, and many of them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the timber

together, &c. These things they chearfully do ; but this also I do, I pay them wages carefully for all such works I set them about, which is a good encouragement to labour. I purpose, God willing, to call them together this Autumne to break and prepare their own ground against the Spring, and for other necessary works, which are not afew, in such an enterprize. There is a great river which divideth between their planting grounds and dwelling place, through which, though they easily wade in Summer, yet in the Spring its deep, and unfit for daily passing over, especially of women and children ; therefore I thought it necessary, that this Autumne we should make a foot Bridge over, against such time in the Spring as they shall have daily use of it ; I told them my purpose and reason of it, wished them to go with me to do that work, which they chearfully did, and with their own hands did build a Bridge eighty foot long, and nine foot high in the midst, that it might stand above the floods ; when we had done, I cald them together, prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them cut of a portion of Scripture, and at parting I told them, I was glad of their readinesse to labour, when I advised them thereunto ; and in as much as it hath been hard and tedious labour in the water, if any of them desired wages for their work, I would give it them ; yet being it is for their owne use if they should do all this labour in love, I should take it well, and as I may have occasion, remember it ; they answered me, they were farre from desiring any

wages when they do their own work ; but on the other side they were thankful to me that I had called them, and counselled them in a work so needful for them, whereto I replyed, I was very glad to see them so ingenuous.

This businesse of praying to God (for that is their general name of Religion) hath hitherto found opposition only from the *Pawwawes* and profane spirits ; but now the Lord hath exercised us with another and a greater opposition ; for the *Sachems* of the Country are generally set against us, and counter-work the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God as much as they can ; And the reason of it is this, They plainly see that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny ; for they used to hold their people in an absolute servitude, insomuch as what ever they had, and themselves too were at his command ; his language was, as one said, (*omne meum ;*) now they see that Religion teaches otherwise, and puts a bridle upon such usurpations ; Besides their former manner was, that if they wanted money, or if they desire any thing from a man, they would take occasion to rage and be in a great anger ; which when they did perceive, they would give him all they had to pacifie him ; for else their way was to suborne some villain (of which they have no lack) to find some opportunity to kill him ; *This keeps them in great awe of their Sachems*, and is one reason why none of them desire any wealth, only from hand to mouth, because

they are but servants, and they get not for themselves ; But now if their *Sachem* so rage, and give sharp and cruell language, instead of seeking his favour with gifts (as formerly) they will admonish him of his sinne ; tell him that is not the right way to get money ; but he must labour, and then he may have money, that is Gods command, &c. And as for Tribute, some they are willing to pay, but not as formerly. Now these are great temptations to the *Sachems*, and they had need of a good measure both of wisdome and grace to swallow this Pill, and it hath set them quite off ; And I suppose that hence it is, that (I having requested the Court of Commissioners for a general way to be thought of to instruct all the Indians in all parts, and I told the Indians that I did so, which they would soon spread ; and still in my prayers, I pray for the *Monohegens, Narragansets, &c.*) the *Monohegen* Indians were much troubled lest the Court of Commissioners should take some course to teach them to pray to God ; and *Uakus* their *Sachem* went to *Hartford* this Court (for there they sate) and expressed to Elder *Goodwin* his feare of such a thing, and manifested a great unwillingness thereunto ; this one of our Commissioners told me at his coming home.

This temptation hath much troubled *Cutshamoquin* our *Sachem*, and he was raised in his spirit to such an height, that at a meeting after Lecture, he openly contested with me against our proceeding to make a town ; and plainly told me that all the *Sa-*

chems in the country were against it, &c. When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear, their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away, a few stayed, and I was alone, not any English man with me; But it pleased God (for it was his guidance of me, and assistance) to raise up my spirit, not to passion, but to a bold resolution, telling him it was Gods work I was about, and he was with me, and I feared not him, nor all the *Sachems* in the Country, and I was resolved to go on do what they can, and they nor he should hinder that which I had begun, &c. And it pleased God that his spirit shrunk and fell before me, which when those Indians that tarried saw, they smiled as they durst, out of his sight, and have been much strengthened ever since; and since I understand that in such conflicts their manner is, that they account him that shrinks to be conquered, and the other to conquer; which alas I knew not, nor did I aime at such a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and wont; after this brunt was over, I took my leave to go home, and *Cutshamoquin* went a little way with me, and told that the reason of this trouble was, because the Indians that pray to God, since they have so done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done; I answered him that once before when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, *Give unto Cæsar what is Cæsars and unto God what is Gods;* and also on *Rom.* 13. naming him the matter of the texts (not the places of

which he is ignorant.) But he said its true, I taught them well, but they would not in that point do as I taught them ; And further he said, this thing are all the *Sachems* sensible of, and therefore set themselves against praying to God ; and then I was troubled, lest (if they should be sinfully unjust) they should both hinder and blemish the Gospel and Religion ; I did therefore consult with the Magistrates and Mr. *Cotton* and other Elders ; Mr. *Cottons* text by Gods providence, the next Lecture gave him occasion to speak to it, which I fore-knowing advised some that understood English best, to be there ; and partly by what they heard, and by what I had preached to the like purpose, and told them what Mr. *Cotton* said, &c. they were troubled, and fell to reckon up what they had done in two yeers past, a few of them that lived at one of the places I preached unto ; I took down the particulars in writing, as followeth. At one time they gave him twenty bushels of corne, at another time more than sixe bushels ; two hunting dayes they killed him fifteen Deeres ; they brake up for him two Acres of Land, they made for him a great house or Wigwam, they made twenty rod of fence for him, with a Ditch and two Railes about it, they paid a debt for him of 3. li. 10. s. only some others were contributors in this money ; one of them gave him a skin of Beaver of two pound, at his return from building, besides many dayes works in planting corne altogether, and some severally ; yea they said they would willingly do more if they would

govern well by justice, and as the word of God taught them ; when I heard all this, I wondered, for this cometh to neere 30. li. and was done by a few, and they thought it not much if he had carried matters better ; and yet his complaint was, they do nothing ; But the bottome of it lieth here, he formerly had all or what he would ; now he hath but what they will ; and admonitions also to rule better, and he is provoked by other *Sachems*, and ill counsel, not to suffer this, and yet doth not know how to help it ; hence arise his tentations, in which I do very much pity him. Having all this information what they had done, and how causelesse his complaint and discontent was, I thought it a difficult thing to ease his spirit, and yet clear and justifie the people, which I was to endeavour the next day of our meeting after the former contestations, therefore I was willing to get some body with me ; And by Gods providence, Elder *Heath* went with me, and when we came there, we found him very full of discontent, sighing, sower looks, &c. but we took no notice of it.

I preached that day out of the fourth of *Matthew*, the temptations of Christ ; and when I came at that temptation, of the Devils showing Christ the kingdomes and glories of the world, thereby to tempt him from the service of God, to the service of the Devill ; I did apply it wholly to his case, shewing him the Devill was now tempting him, as he tempted Christ; and Satan sheweth him all the delights and dignities,

and gifts and greatnesse that he was wont to have in their sinfull way ; Satan also tels him he shall lose them all if he pray to God, but if he will give over praying to God he shall have them all again ; then I shewed him how Christ rejected that temptation, and exhorted him to reject it also, for either he must reject the temptation, or else he will reject praying to God ; if he should reject praying to God, God would reject him.

After our exercise was ended, we had conference of the matter, and we gave him the best counsel we could (as the Lord was pleased to assist) and when we had done, Elder *Heath* his observation of him was, that there was a great change in him, his spirit was very much lightned, and it much appeared both in his countenance and carriage, and he hath carried all things fairly ever since.

But the temptation still doth work strongly, in the Countrey, the *Sachems* opposing any that desire to submit themselves to the service of the Lord, as appeareth sundry wayes ; some that began to listen, are gone quite back ; I meane *Sachems* and some people that have a mind to it, are kept back ; this last Lecture day one came in and submitted himself to call on God, and said he had been kept back this half yeer by opposition, but now at last the Lord hath helped and emboldned him to break through all opposition.

In the beginning of 1651, in his account of the progress of the Indians, Eliot writes, One of our first and

principall men is dead, which though it be a great blow and damping to our worke in some Respects, yet the Lord hath not left the rest to discouragement thereby, nay the worke is greatly furthered, for hee made so gracious an end of his life, and imbraced death with such holy submission to the Lord, and was so little terrified at it, as that it hath greatly strengthened the Faith of the living to be constant, and not to feare death, greatly commending of the death of *Wamporas*,† for that was his name, I thinke he did more good by his death, then he could have done by his life : one of his sayings was, That God giveth us three mercies in this world ; the first is health and strength; the second is food and cloaths; the third is sicknesse and death ; and when wee have had our share in the two first, why should wee not be willing to take our part in the third ? for his part he was : I heard him speake thus, and at other times also, and at his last he so spake, and it so tooke with them, that I observe it in their prayers, that they so reckon up Gods dispensations to them ; his last words which he spake in this world were these ; *Jehova Aninnumah Jesus Christ*, (that is) Oh, Lord, give mee Jesus Christ ; and when hee could speake no more, he continued to lift up his hands to Heaven, according as his strength lasted, unto his last breath ; so that they say of him he dyed praying ; when I visited him the last time that I saw him in this world (not doubting but I shall

† The same Indian mentioned on pages 32, 33.

see him againe with Christ in Glory) one of his sayings was this : † Foure yeares and a Quarter since, I came to your house, and brought some of our Children to dwell with the *English*, now I dye, I strongly intreate you (for that is their phrase) that you would strongly intreate Elder *Heath*, (with whom his Sonne liveth) and the rest, which have our Children. that they may be taught to know God, so as that they may teach their Countrymen, because such an example would doe great good among them, his heart was much upon our intended worke, to gather a Church among them, I told him I greatly desired that he might live (if it were Gods will) to be one in that worke, but if he should now dye he should goe to a better Church, where *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, and all the dead Saints were with Jesus Christ in the presence of God in all happinesse and Glory ; he said he feared not death, he was willing to dye, and turning to the Company which were present, hee spake unto them thus ; *I now shall dye, but Jesus Christ calleth you that live to goe to* Naticke, *that there the Lord might rule over you, that you might make a Church, and have the Ordinance of God among you, believe in his Word, and doe as hee commandeth you :* With many such words exhorting them, which they could not heare without weeping. A little before his death hee spake many gracious words unto them, wherein one passage was this ; *Some delight to heare and*

† The occasion referred to is narrated on pages 32, 33.

speake idle and foolish words, but I desire to heare and speake onely the words of God, exhorting them soe to doe likewise: his gracious words were acceptable and affecting, that whereas they used to flie and avoyd with terrour such as lye dying, now on the contrary they flocked together to heare his dying words, whose death and buriall they beheld with many teares ; nor am I able to write his Storie without weeping.

Another affliction and damping to our worke was this, that it hath pleased God to take away that *Indian* who was most active in Carpentrey, and who had framed me an house with a little direction of some *English*, whom I sometime procured to goe with mee to guide him, and to set out his worke : hee dyed of the Pox this winter, so that our house lyeth, not yet raised, which maketh my aboade amongst them more difficult, and my tarriance shorter then else I would, but the Lord helpeth me to remember that he hath said, *Endure thou hardnesse as a good Souldier of Jesus Christ.* These are some of the gracious tryalls and Corrections the Lord hath exercised us withall, yet he hath mingled them with much love and favour in other respects ; for it hath pleased God this winter much to inlarge the abilitie of him whose helpe I use in translating the Scriptures, which I account a great furtherance of that which I most desire, namely, to communicate unto them as much of the Scriptures in their owne language as I am able.

This year 54 I moved the Elders, that they would give me advice and assistance in this great businesse, & that they would at a fit season examine the *Indians* in point of their knowledge, because we found by the former triall, that a day will be too little (if the Lord please to call them on to Church-fellowship) examine them in points of Knowledge, and hear their Confessions, and guide them into the holy Covevant of the Lord, seeing all these things are to be transacted in a strange language, and by Interpreters, and with such a people as they be in these their first beginnings. But if they would spend a day on purpose to examine them in their knowledge, there would be so much the more liberty to doe it fully and thoroughly, (as such a work ought to be) as also when they may be called to gather into Church-Communion, it may suffice that some one of them should make a Doctrinall Confession before the Lord and his people, as the rule of faith which they build upon, the rest attesting their consent unto the same: And themselves (the Elders I mean, If the Lord so far assist the *Indians*, as to give them satisfaction) might testifie that upon Examination they have found a competency of knowledge in them to inable them unto such a work and state, and thus the work might be much shortned, and more comfortably expedited in one day. I found no unreadinesse in the Elders to further this work.

They concluded to attend the work, and for severall Reasons advised that the place should be at

Roxbury, and not at *Natick*, and that the *Indians* should be called thither ; the time they left me to appoint, in such a season as wherein the Elders may be at best liberty from other publick occasions. The time appointed was the 13 of the 4 moneth ; meanwhile I dispatched Letters unto such as had knowledge in the Tongue, requesting that they would come and help in Interpretation, or attest unto the truth of my Interpretations. I sent also for my Brother *Mayhu*, who accordingly came, and brought an Interpreter with him. Others whom I had desired, came not. I informed the *Indians* of this appointment, and of the end it was appointed for, which they therefore called, and still doe, when they have occasion to speak of it, *Natootomuhtcae kesuk*, *A day of asking Questions*, or, *a day of Examination*. I advised them to prepare for it, and to pray earnestly about it, that they might be accepted among Gods people, if it were the will of God.

It pleased God so to guide, that there was a publick Fast of all the Churches, betwixt this our appointment, and the accomplishment thereof: which day they kept, as the Churches did, and this businesse of theirs was a Principall matter in their Prayers.

It hath pleased God to lay his hand in sicknesse upon *Monequassun* our *Natick* Schoolmaster, so that we greatly wanted his help and concurrence in this businesse. Yea, and such is his disease (*viz.* an *Ulcer* in his Lungs) that I fear the Lord will take

him away from us, to the great hindrance of our work, in respect of humane means: *Lord increase our faith!*

There fell out a very great discouragement a little before the time, which might have been a scandall unto them, and I doubt not but Satan intended it so; but the Lord improved it to stir up faith and Prayer, and so turned it another way: Thus it was. Three of the unsound sort of such as are among them that pray unto God, who are hemmed in by Relations, and other means, to doe that which their hearts love not, and whose Vices Satan improveth to scandalize and reproach the better sort withall; while many, and some good people are too ready to say they are all alike. I say three of them had gotten severall quarts of strong water, (which sundry out of a greedy desire of a little gaine, are to ready to sell unto them, to the offence and grief of the better sort of *Indians*, and of the godly English too) and with these Liquors, did not onely make themselves drunk, but got a Child of eleven years of age, the Son of *Toteswamp*, whom his Father had sent for a little Corne and Fish to that place near *Watertowne*, where they were. Unto this Child they first gave too spoonfuls of Strong-water, which was more then his head could bear; and another of them put a Bottle, or such like Vessel to his mouth, and caused him to drink till he was very drunk; and then one of them domineered, and said, *Now we will see whether your Father will punish us for drunkenness* (for he is a Ruler among them)

seeing you are drunk with us for company; and in this case lay the Child abroad all night. They also fought, and had been severall times Punished formerly for Drunkennesse.

When *Toteswamp* heard of this, it was a great shame and breaking of heart to him, and he knew not what to doe. The rest of the Rulers with him considered of the matter, they found a complication of many sins together.

1 The sin of Drunkennesse, and that after many former Punishments for the same.

2 A willfull making of the Child drunk, and exposing him to danger also.

3 A degree of reproaching the Rulers.

4 Fighting.

Word was brought to me of it, a little before I took a Horse to goe to *Natick* to keep the Sabbath with them, being about ten dayes before the appointed Meeting. The Tidings sunk my spirit extremely, I did judge it to be the greatest frowne of God that ever I met withall in the work, I could read nothing in it but displeasure, I began to doubt about our intended work: I knew not what to doe, the blaeknesse of the sins, and the Persons reflected on, made my very heart faile me: For one of the offendors (though least in the offence) was he that hath been my Interpreter, whom I have used in Translating a good part of the Holy Scriptures; and in that respect I saw much of Satans venome, and in God I saw displeasure. For this and some other acts of Apos-

tacy at this time, I had thoughts of casting him off from that work, yet now the Lord hath found a way to humble him. But his Apostacy at this time was a great Triall, and I did lay him by for that day of our Examination, I used another in his room. Thus Satan aimed at me in this their miscarrying; and *Toteswamp* is a Principall man in the work, as you shall have occasion to see anon God-willing.

By some occasion *our Ruling Elder* [Heath] *and I being together, I opened the case unto him, and the Lord guided him to speak some gracious words of encouragement unto me, by which the Lord did relieve my spirit;* and so I committed the matter and issue unto the Lord, to doe what pleased him, and in so doing my soul was quiet in the Lord. I went on my journey being the 6 day of the week; when I came at *Natick*, the Rulers had then a Court about it. Soon after I came there, the Rulers came to me with a Question about this matter, they related the whole business unto me, with much trouble and grief.

Then *Toteswamp* spake to this purpose, *I am greatly grieved about these things, and now God tryeth me whether I love Christ or my Child best. They say, they will try me; but I say, God will try me. Christ saith, He that loveth father, or mother, or wife, or Child, better than me, is not worthy of me. Christ saith, I must correct my Child, if I should refuse to doe that, I should not love Christ. God bid Abraham to kill his Son,*

Abraham loved God, and therefore he would have done it, had not God with-held him. God saith to me, onely punish your Child, and how can I love God, if I should refuse to doe that? These things he spake in more words, and much affection, and not with dry eyes: Nor could I refraine from teares to hear him. When it was said, The Child was not so guilty of the sin, as those that made him drunk; He said, *That he was guilty of sin, in that he feared not sin, and in that he did not believe his counsells that he had often given him, to take heed of evill company; but he had believed Satan and sinners more than him, therefore he needed to be punished.* After other such like discourse, the Rulers left me, and went unto their businesse, which they were about before I came, which they did bring unto this conclusion, and judgment. They judged the three men to sit in the stocks a good space of time, and thence to be brought to the whipping-Post, & have each of them twenty lashes. The boy to be put in the stocks a little while, and the next day his father was to whip him in the School, before the Children there; all which Judgment was executed. When they came to be whipt, the Constable fetcht them one after another to the Tree (which they make use of instead of a Post) where they all received their Punishments: which done, the Rulers spake thus, one of them said, *The Punishments for sin are the Commandments of God, and the worke of God, and his end was, to doe them good, and bring them to*

repentance. And upon that ground he did in more words exhort them to repentance, and amendment of life. When he had done, another spake unto them to this purpose, *You are taught in Catechisme, that the wages of sin are all miseries and calamities in this life, and also death and eternall damnation in hell. Now you feele some smart as the fruit of your sin, and this is to bring you to repentance, that so you may escape the rest.* And in more words he exhorted them to repentance. When he had done, another spake to this purpose, *Heare all yee people* (turning himselfe to the People who stood round about, I think not lesse then two hundred, small and great) *This is the Commandment of the Lord, that thus it should be done unto sinners; and therefore let all take warning by this, that you commit not such sins, least you incur these Punishments.* And with more words he exhorted the People. Others of the Rulers spake also, but some things spoken I understood not, and some things slipt from me: But these which I have related remained with me.

When I returned to *Roxbury*, I related these things to our Elder [Heath] to whom I had before related the sin, and my grief: *who was much affected to hear it, and magnified God.* He said also, That their sin was but a Transient act, which had no Rule, and would vanish: But these Judgments were an ordinance of God, and would remaine, and doe more good every way, then their sin could doe hurt,

telling me what cause I had to be thankfull for such an issue: Which I therefore relate, because *the Lord did speak to my heart, in this exigent, by his words.*"

The incident above narrated presents to the imagination a scene of remarkable interest and exquisite beauty—the reverence of manhood to age, and the deference of strength to wisdom. Eliot was in the prime of life,† and Heath, the venerable Elder, had already numbered his "three score years and ten," the alloted term of man's life. In the beginning of their course, Heath's age was nearly double that of the youthful Eliot, who had now, for more than twenty years, listened to his Godly counsel and experience. With equal steps, the one had passed from youth to the meridian of life, and the other had now come to the evening of his days. Eliot was the resolute, enthusiastic Missionary of the Cross, well disciplined in obedience to the apostolic injunction, "Endure thou hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Heath had "fought the good fight of faith," had "endured to the end;" with years he had gathered wisdom, and to him—the patriarch of the church—whose walk had been with God, all looked with reverence. The Christian soldier, laboring under discouragement, depressed by thickening difficulties, and well nigh wavering in his faith in God's favor to him, could no longer bear the burden

† Eliot was fifty years of age,—with a man of his temperate habits and uniformity of life, the period of his highest strength.

alone, abruptly "opened the case" to the aged father, and disclosed to him the weight resting on his spirit. "The Lord guided him," said Eliot, "to speake some gracious words of encouragement unto me, by which the Lord did revive my spirit," and "my soul was quiet in the Lord." Thus encouraged and refreshed, he returned to the task with a calmed mind, learned all the evils which had befallen his beloved Indians, and again sought communion with the old Christian "who was much affected by his relation, and magnified God, who would bring good out of evil." His trusting spirit and gentle words soothed the troubled heart of Eliot, who long remembered the occasion, and "related" it "because," said he, "the Lord did speake to my heart, in this exigent, by his words.'

The examination of the Indians was held at Roxbury, instead of Natick, partly, no doubt, in consideration of Elder Heath's great age. Eliot says that "when the day was well spent in questioning the Indians, *some that were aged* desired that an end might be put unto this work for this time, because by this tast which they had, they saw that which gave them comfortable satisfaction."

The preceding pages exhibit the intense interest which they felt in the welfare of the aborigines, whose degradation and heathenism excited their fervent sympathy, and their noble self-sacrifices in their behalf. Like their Great Master, they "went about doing good" and no sacrifice was too great in this

labor of love. They afforded no opportunity for the cold suspicions of the cautious hearer, or the caviling jealousies of the skeptical worldling, by wordy benevolence and earnest exhortations to *others*, but evinced their sincerity by their own *personal* devotion. It was a disinterested service. Their highest reward was in the advance of the poor Indian—there was no other to gain. Their greatest success could confer on them no worldly gain, or gratify any vain ambition ; they had no emoluments to tempt them, no honors to seek for, no popular applause to win. Saint Paul had listeners to the story of his hardships, but of even this source of consolation to the human heart,—sympathy,—they were well nigh destitute, in the isolated scene of their labors, separated from their countrymen, and the civilized world by the waste ocean of 3000 miles, — crossed fearfully by the occasional and slow-moving emigrant-ship,—then whitened only by the storm, now by the canvass of ten thousand ships, familiar with its waters. Saint Paul's account of his ministry is, with singular truth and exactness, applicable to the services of the Apostle Eliot and his venerable Elder, with their associates,—"in weariness and painfulness, watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of the church. Who is weak and I am not weak? who is offended and I am not ? " †

† II. Cor. xi. 26, 31.

These benevolent enterprises, commanded the attention of the good men of the "Commonwealth" in old England, and led to the foundation of the Society for the "propagation of the Gospel in New-England," which was incorporated in July 1649.†

† Among the original corporate members, were RICHARD HUTCHINSON and THOMAS BELL, "citizens of London." Doubtless, the latter was the benefactor of our free school, for a while, resident in Roxbury, — and the former, a son of Mrs. Susanna Hutchinson of Alford in Lincolnshire, who came to N. E. about 1634, with her family, and died in Wells in Maine, about 1642, in the family of her son-in-law, the Rev. John Wheelwright. RICHARD returned to London and acquired great wealth. He lost £60,000 by the great fire in London, his grand-son removed to Ireland, and was the founder of the family of the present Earl of Donoughmore. WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, the eldest brother, a "man of good estate," went to Rhode Island, and "was there Governor at the beginning of the Colony, and died about 1642." His wife Anne, "daughter of Mr. MARVURY, sometime a Preacher in LINCOLNSHIRE, after of London," was the Heroine of the Antinomian controversy. They were the ancestors of the Hutchinson Family, who fill so eminent and respectable a position in the public annals of Massachusetts during 150 years to 1775. They were accompanied to Rhode Island by their brother Edward Hutchinson, their son-in-law, THOMAS SAVAGE, (son of William Savage of Taunton in Somersetshire,) and many others of the most valuable citizens, a portion of whom returned to Massachusetts. The will of SAMUEL HUTCHINSON (brother of William, Richard and Edward,) is recorded and on file in the Registry of Probate in Suffolk. It was made April 7, 1667, and proved on the 16th of July following: in it, he mentions Samuel Wheelwright, eldest son of Sister Wheelright [wife of Rev. John Wheelwright] Elizabeth Person, Katherine Naylor, Mary Loyd, Rebecca Maverick, Hannah Checkley and Sarah Wheelwright, the six daughters of Sister Wheelright; Habijah, Thomas, Ephraim, Perez, Mary and Denis, [Dionisia] Savage and Hannah Gillam, the seven children of my cozen [niece] FFAITH SAVAGE, deceased [wife of Hon. Thomas Savage;] to cousen Peleg Sanford, my orchard, lying in Portsmouth, R. I. Edward Rushworth, eldest son to my sister Rushworth. Elizabeth Hutchinson, the Eldest daughter of my cozen Edward Hutchinson. Restram [quere Tristram] William, Ezbon and Elisha Sanford; Elisha, eldest

The Act recites that by "pains and industry," "certain English ministers of the Gospel, and others, residing in or near our colonies and plantations in New England," "having attained to speak the language of the heathen natives in those parts, have, by their teachings and instructions, brought over many of them from the power of darkness, and the Kingdom of Satan, to the knowledge of the true and only God," and that those "*planters who first began and contributed largely thereto*, being, of themselves, unble to bear the whole charge thereof," the society will "lay a foundation for the educating, clothing, civilizing and instructing the poor natives."† The financial records of this corporation are of considerable historical value, as evidence of the extent of these early missionary operations, and of the names of many of the preachers and lay assistants.

That Christian philosopher and patron of Christian

son to my cozen Edward Hutchinson; to Elizabeth Hutchinson, Ann Diar and Susan Hutchinson, "my neck of land together with Mackpila (1) as also that "meadow over against Mackpila," which lyeth in Portsmouth in Rhode Island; my brother EDWARD HUTCHINSON; Edward, Katherine and Hannah Hutchinson, the other children of my cozen Edward Hutchinson; my cousin Susan Cole; my cozen Bridget Willis; to Sarah Langdon wife of John Langdon, a "great bible;" my cousin Willis of Bridgwater;" cousin Edward Hutchinson senior of [Boston ?] in New England, sole executor. Vol. I. 532.3. [New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg. I. 297. 302. II. 172. 400. IV. 188. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts Bay. I. 72. Thomas Weld's "Short Story" London, 1644. p. 31.

(1) Genesis. xxiii. 9.

† Birche's Life of Hon. Robert Boyle.

enterprises, the Honorable Robert Boyle, was, for many years, the leading spirit of this Institution, and the good genius of Eliot and Gookin. A portion of their correspondence is preserved. To him, as "Governor of the Right Honorable Corporation for Gospelizing the Indians," Commissioner Gookin, in 1677, dedicated his "Historical Account of the doings and sufferings of the Christian Indians," and stiles him a "tender-nursing father to Christ's interests and concerns among the English and Indians in New England.†

It was stated in a previous page that the ecclesiastical virtually controlled the civil power. A remarkable instance is found in Winthrop's Journal. In 1636, his presence was required in England, and the consent of the legislature was given that he might go, but "divers of the congregation, [that is the church] of Boston met together, and agreed that they did not apprehend the necessity of the Governour's departure upon the reasons alleged, and sent some of them to declare the same to the court; whereupon the Governor expressed himself to be an obedient child to the church, and therefore, notwithstanding the license of the court, yet without the leave of the church he durst not go away.‡

Mr. William Hutchinson, served in the General Court several elections, as a representative for Boston

† Published in the Am. Ant. Soc. Transactions. Vol. II.

‡ Winthrop I. 208.

until in 1636 he was discharged from assisting at the particular courts *at the request of the church*, † This was a consequence of their jealousy of his sympathy with his wife's heretical opinions.

The Apostle Eliot wrote to Cromwell, in 1652, "I trust that the Lord will yet further improve you not only by endeavouring to *put government into the hands of Saints*," ["to raise up His own Kingdom *in the room of all earthly powers*,"] which the Lord hath made you eminently careful to do, but also by promoting *Scripture Government and laws*, that so the word of Christ might rule all, In which great services to the name of Christ, I doubt not, but it will be some comfort to your heart to *see the Kingdom of Christ rising up* in these Western parts of the world. ‡

In this *quasi* Theocratic government, there was a singular intermingling and confusion of civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The admission or election to civil office, or the possession of any considerable degree of personal influence was attainable only through the Church. There was no legal or constitutional Union of Church and State, on the contrary it was to escape from this bondage as well as that of Episco-

† Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Bay. I. 55. Even as late as 1719, if a person had been excommunicated for heresy,—a matter of opinion, though he suffered no civil penalties, yet after that he was rarely chosen by the people to any *publick employments*. Cotton Mather's Ratio Disciplinæ—155, 156.

‡ Hist. Coll. xxiv. 212.

pacy that they left England. Dr. Increase Mather, when eighty years of age, attested the fidelity of his son Cotton's treatise "Ratio Disciplinæ," and while reviewing the history of his country, his soul glowed with love for the principles of liberty, and for the great men, (with whom, as a worthy son, he had been a co-laborer,) who had made them practical truths. With the warmth of youth and the energy of manhood, he declared it was not" with respect to the *Fundamentals* in *Doctrine*, that our Father's came into this Wilderness. For they agreed to the *Doctrinal Articles* of the *Church of England* (as full as any, and more full than many,) of the *Conformists* in that Church. But it was with regard unto *Church Order* and *Discipline*, that our pious Ancestors the *Good old Puritan Non-conformists*, transported themselves with their Families over the vast Ocean to these goings down of the Sun. On which Account, a Degeneracy from the Principles of pure *Scriptural Worship and Order* in the Church, would be more Evil in the Children of *New England*, than any other People in the world." They could not be convinced that they had any want of a Diocesan, but were conscious of power to manage within themselves the discipline, with which they should be regulated.

Though theoretically dissolved, the Church and State were virtually a unity, one and the same. †

† So far as the promotion of Congregational Puritanism was in question. The government used their ut-

Worldly and religious matters were strangely involved. For a time, freedom of thought was almost smothered, the sanctity of private rights and opinions was violated, but in the system and through the whole mass, existed the cardinal principle of individual independence, slowly, but more and more perceptibly, diffusing its vitality and heat, deep below the

most efforts to discourage every other form, enforced by rigorous laws, of which there is most painful evidence in the early history of Maine, which was thoroughly English, royalist and episcopalian in its origin. They forbade the practice of clerical duties to any of the Church of England. In October 1660, the *General Court*, not seeming to aim at any corruption or immorality, but only at the form, under which the ordinance was administered, adopted the following injunction: "Whereas it appears to this Court by several testimonies of good repute, that one ROBERT JORDAN, [the Episcopal Clergyman] did in July last, after the exercises were ended, on the Lord's day, in the house of Mrs. Macworth, in the town of *Falmouth*, then and there, baptize three children of NATH'L WALLIS of the same town, to the offence of the government of this Commonwealth, this Court judgeth it necessary to be witness against such irregular practices, and do therefore, order that the Secretary, by letter, in the name of this Court, require him to desist from any such practices for the future, and also that he appear before the next *General Court*, to answer what shall be laid against him, for what he had done in times past." *Willis' Portland.*

The Rev. Robert Jordan, was an intrepid son of the Established Church, and a faithful memoir of his life, would furnish a history of the early differences and connection between Maine and Massachusetts. It ought to be written by a discriminating and impartial spirit, free from partizanship, a seeker after the truth. The ostensible charges against "Morton of Merry Mount" and against the Quakers, were for civil offences.

surface of society, and creating the mental and then the moral life, which developed itself by the effervescence of the public mind in popular restlessness and discontent, and occasional insubordination and in heresies, and skepticisms in government and religion, but which, in due time, was to furnish the *materiel* for a republic.

The annals of New England, present to the philosophic student, the history of a thinking, living people, freed from the apathy and casting off the shackles of superstition. With a calm, determined consciousness of being something, and purpose of having an existence in and for themselves, they left old England, the loyal subjects of his Majesty "by the grace of God," but "dissenting" children from the Apostolic church, destined to learn on the free soil and breathing the free air of New England, pure and fresh from the hand of the Creator, that they were not subjects, but citizens, not the children of the Church, but "the sons of God."

Those, and those only, who constituted the Church, were embraced in or recognized as members of the State. Citizenship, and eligibility to office, depended, not on subscription to the thirty-nine articles, but to the creed of the church, and what was more onerous, submission to its discipline.†

† "None should be admitted to the freedom of the body politick but such as were church members." Hutchinson says, "this was a most extraordinary order or law, and yet it continued in force until the dissolution of the government, it being repealed, in appearance only,

The nature of the office of Ruling Elder was not clearly defined among the Fathers of New England, whether partaking of ecclesiastical authority or not, but there will be occasion to refer to the subject again. Certain it is, that they "shared in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, represented the people and preserved their liberties." In about the year 1700, an assembly of the pastors published that, "Whereas 'tis the Business of a *Ruling Elder*, to assist his *Pastor* in *visiting* the Distressed; *instructing* the Ignorant; *comforting* the Afflicted; *Rebuking* the Unruly; *Discovering* the State of the whole Flock; Exercising the *Discipline* of the Gospel upon offenders; and promoting the desirable *Growth* of the Church; 'tis necessary that he be a Person of a Wisdom, Courage, Leisure and Exemplary Holiness and Gravity, agreeable to such Employments." The office of Ruling Elder entailed upon its possessor, responsibilities and duties almost as various as the interests of the Commonwealth. It was no *sinecure* for it reversed that ecclesiastical abuse, having the "cure of souls" without the "benefice." This officer, from his mixed lay and ecclesiastical position,

after the restoration of King Charles the Second. Had they been deprived of their civil privileges in England by an act of parliament, unless they would join in communion with the churches there, it might very well have been the first in the roll of grievances. But such were the requisites to qualify for church membership here that the grievance was abundantly greater." Hist. of Mass. Bay. I. 26.

and the strength of his character and social influence, pre-supposed by his elevation to that dignity, had, in effect, a general supervision of affairs, from the petty municipal affairs of the town, to consultations upon the concerns of general interest,—from the minutiæ of the personal and domestic life of the church members, (many were not church-members,) to the graver troubles between churches, or between churches and their pastors,—from the enlightening and guiding of inquiring minds and tender consciences, in the various degrees of initiation to "full communion" with the church, to the consideration of the great theological controversies of the day.

It can hardly be expected that after the lapse of two centuries, many instances can be adduced, in connection with any one name, elucidating this statement, but the few that have been found in which Elder Heath acted, are of some interest and to the point.

The original of the following document is in the hand-writing of the Apostle Eliot, and bears first his signature, then Elder Heath's and William Heath's, followed by about sixty other "freemen or sworne souldgers of the Towne of Roxbury," nearly thirty of whose names are illegible.

To the much honored General Court, now assembled at Boston, this 31 *of the 3d month*, 1647;

We whose names are here under written, being freemen or sworne soldgers of the Towne of Roxbury, being unanimously agreed the 15th day of the first

month, to proceede to the choyce of a Captaine, did accordingly proceede, and the number of 64 votes were for Mr. Hugh Prichard, and the second man in choyce had 38 votes, but he neither was, nor is a free man † [or a member of the church,] the 3d man in choyce had only 4 votes. Now our humble request unto this honorable Court is, that it would please you to confirme this our choyce of the saide Mr. Prichard to be our Captaine, and have entreated our Ensigne and Sarjeants to propose this our choyce to this honored Court. And thus praying for the blessing of heaven to be and rest upon all your counsells and indeavors for the wellfaire of the poore Churches of Christ under your protection we rest

Your humble petitioners,

JOHN ELIOT [Teacher,] ISACK HEATH [Elder,] *William Heath*, Christopher Peake, Daniel Bruer, Abraham Howe, Sen'r, John Mays, Edward Porter, Abraham Newell, Sam'l Finch, John Crafts, Robert Hawes, John Watson, Edward Parker, Gilles Payson, Humprey Johnson, William Cheney, Edward Paison, John Turner, Richard Woode, Senior, John Wode, Richard Peper, Hendric Farnum, Robert Pepper, Robert Seauer, John Roberts, John Hanchut, James Morgan, Samuel Stow, Isaack Johnson, Isack Morrell, John White, Arthur Garey, Robart Williams, [and thirty others whose names are illegible.]

Certainly, these "poore churches of Christ," "under the protection of the much honored General

† See page 63.

Court," with their "Captains," "Sarjeants," and "Ensigns," would have been classed by the "judicious Hooker," as a portion of the "Church *militant*," if not of the "Church *triumphant on earth*."

"That Learned and judicious Divine, Mr. John Cotton," who was foremost in establishing the order of the churches, in his famous treatise on church discipline, entitled the "Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven,"† says that "all particular Churches and the Elders of them are of equall power, each of them respectively in their own congregation, "none of them call others their Rabbies or Masters, or Fathers (in respect of any authoritie over them,) but all of them own and acknowledge one another as fellow Brethren, Matthew, 23. 8. 9. 10." and "though the Church of a particular Congregation, consisting of Elders and Brethren, and walking with a right foot in the truth and peace of the Gospel, be the first subject of all church power, needfull to be exercised within itself; and consequently be independent from any other Church or Synod in the use of it; yet it is a safe and wholesome, and holy Ordinance of Christ, for such particular churches to joyn together in holy Covenant or Communion and consolation among themselves, to administer all their church affairs (which are of weighty, and difficult and common concernment,) not without common consultation and consent of other churches about them."

† London, 1644. Republished by Tappan & Dennet, Boston, 1843. pp. 75. 102. 103.

The Apostles were as much independent from one another, and stood in as little need of one another's help as churches do one of another. And yet, Paul went up to Jerusalem, to confer with Peter, James and John, lest he should run in vain in the course of his ministry, Galatians, 2. 2. Now then it will follow by just proportion, that if the other had need to consult and confer together about the work of their ministry, to procure the freer passage to their calling and to *their doctrine*: then, surely Churches and Elders of Churches, though independent one of another, had need to communicate their courses and proceeding in such cases one with another."

Every instance of early ecclesiastical usage, duly authenticated, has an interest beyond that of mere antiquarian curiosity, and is of great value in illustrating and establishing the principles of church polity and discipline, as practiced by the Fathers of New England.

The theory of INDEPENDENCE, as laid down by the patriarchal Cotton, and matured by the experience of a quarter of a century in New England, under circumstances of freedom which cheered the hearts of those heroes of liberty, is exhibited, in practice, in the following case, which, as a *precedent*, has also the direct authority of some of the most eminent names in the New England churches, and the acquiescence of some of the most influential "congregations." These were the schools in which were imbibed and learned the principles and spirit essen-

tially republican, and wholly incompatible with any than a nominal allegiance to the government in England. The churches in New England were so many nurseries of freemen, training them in the principles of self-government and accustoming them to the feeling of independence. In these petty organizations were developed, in practice, the principles of individual and national freedom. Each church was a republic in embryo. The fiction became a fact, the abstraction a reality; and the result has fully justified the fears which prompted the tyranny of Laud and the hatred of monarchy. Cromwell represented independency, and its life was in the Commonwealth. England had drawn one long breath of freedom, and her slumber was disturbed; she partially comprehended the great idea embodied in the Commonwealth, and had Cromwell lived, would have been redeemed, and anticipated for herself and the world, the slow progress of centuries; but he died, and with him, the Commonwealth in old England ceased to be. Monarchy was restored, episcopacy was re-established, and England relapsed into the old order of things. New England was eminently fortunate in her geographical position, separated from all the dangerous influences and seductive associations of the past.

A generation born within her own borders were now active men. Their eyes had never rested on the shores of the old world. They remembered the advice of Job: "For inquire, I pray thee, of the

former age and prepare thyself to the search of the fathers ; shall not they teach thee and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart ?" and they did receive lessons of wisdom from their fathers, who "dwelt on the other side of the floods in old times," "who were ancient men that had seen the first house when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes." Laud and episcopacy, Romanism and monarchy, and tyrrany, to them hardly distinguishable, were things of memory, and inspired only feelings of terror and hatred. They could remember no government save the Commonwealth. With them, for council and advice, were many of the Founders of New England still living. They had sacrificed every thing for the principle, and were not the men to surrender what had cost them so much, while enjoying its full fruition. For these reasons, from the time of the Restoration, there was, and could be, but little harmony or congeniality between old England and New England, and then commenced the struggle which ended in the open war of 1776.

The curious questions about baptismal rights and rites, and "fathers' covenants," "members' children," and the like questions, will interest the ecclesiastical antiquary, but of far deeper import was the grand problem to be solved under these speculations.† The *fact* that they *debated* these

† The painful extent to which these favorite abstractions were carried, appears in the history of that remarkable and heroic woman, Mrs. Ann Hutchinson.

questions, *voted* upon them and *decided* them; this exercise and expression of individual thought and opinion, this feeling of personal responsibility—all these presupposed, and exhibited in actual operation, those principles of liberty, which we have formally and expressly secured to ourselves in our State constitutions.†

Extract from the Records of the Rev. Richard Mather's church in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

"ii. (1) 54 or 55." "There haueinge beene in o'r church some Consideration what State members' children are to be Considered in in the church, where they are Baptized, it came to vote [and] by diuers was voted yt they were members that haueing children they should have ym baptized if ymselves did take hold their ffathers' Covenant (but w't that taking hould of Covenant is was not clearely agreed vpon) albeit ymselves being examined were found neither ffit ffor the Lord's table nor voteing in the Church but this and other thinges seemed strange

† Lechford, a lawyer, who passed some time in New England, wrote "A short view of New England's present government," in 1641, "which," he says, "seemeth to make so many Church members so many Bishops, for the Churches in the Bay governe each by all their members unanimously, or else by the major part, wherein every one hath equall vote and superspection with their Ministers: and that in their Covenant it is expressed to be the duty of all the members, to watch over one another." Mass. Hist. Col.: vol. XXIII. p. 59.

and vnsafe vnto divers ; in conclusion soe it was, 4 L'res were sent to the churches of B[oston], Roxbury, Dedham, and Braintree to intimate vnto ym w't was by vs intended if in the space of a moneth or 6 weeks we did not heare Reasons from ym against [it,] or yt it would be offenciue ; now ye ii (1) 54 there came 3 L'res one from Boston, Dedham, Roxbury in all, wch after kind and Religious Salutations we ffind in [torn], Boston desires Rather our fforbearance and declares their 2 votes vpon wtt we had done, Dedham sees not Light to goe so ffare as we—*Roxbury, though diuers of ym ffeare it might make the* [torn] *bring in the corruption of old England wch we ffled from, yet haue voted that they see noe cause to disswade vs.*†

Boston Lre signed
by Mr. John Wilson, Pastor,
Elder Thomas Oliver
William Colbourne
James Penn.

Dedham
by Mr. Allen, Pastor or Teacher,
Mr. Hontinge.

Roxbury
by Mr. John Eliot, Teacher.
Mr. Samuel Danforth, Pastor,
Elder ISAAC HEATH."

† Next after John Endicott, the first governor of Massachusetts, in intolerance, may probably be ranked

"*The publique worship.*

† The publique worship is in as faire a *meeting house* as they can provide, wherein, in most places, they have beene at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lord's day, they come together at *Boston*, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter ; Then a Psalme is sung, which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing.

Once a moneth is a Sacrament of the Lords Supper, whereof notice is given usually a fortnight before, and then all others departing save the Church, which is a great deale lesse in number then those that goe away, they receive the Sacrament, the Ministers and ruling Elders sitting at the Table, the rest in their seats, or upon forms: All cannot see the Minister consecrating, unlesse they stand up, and

Gov. Thomas Dudley of Roxbury ; on the site of his house, in Roxbury, now stands a Universalist church: Dr. Increase Mather was the most active agent in procuring the charter of 1692, in which liberty of conscience was granted to all with the exception of Papists. [Holmes' Annals. I. 437.] It is said that within hail of, if not on the very spot where his house stood, at the north end of Boston, mass is daily celebrated in a Roman catholic chapel. These facts have a meaning.

†LECHFORD.

make a narrow shift. Then one of the teaching Elders prayes before, and blesseth, and consecrates the Bread and Wine, according to the words of Institution ; the other prays after the receiving of all the members : and next Communion, they change turnes ; he that began at that, ends at this : and the Ministers deliver the Bread in a Charger to some of the Chiefe, and peradventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands, and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten ; in like manner the cup, till all have dranke, goes from one to another. Then a Psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed. Any one, though not of the Church, may, in *Boston*, come in, and see the Sacrament administered, if he will : But none of any Church in the Country may receive the Sacrament there, without leave of the congregation, for which purpose he comes to one of the ruling Elders, who propounds his name to the congregation, before they goe to the Sacrament.

About two in the after-noone, they repaire to the meeting-house againe ; and then the Pastor begins, as before noone, aud a Psalme being sung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to reade and expound a Chapter also before his sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

After that ensues Baptisme, if there be any, which is done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacons seate, the most eminent place in the Church, *next*

under the Elders seate. The Pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptisme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the Church, the childe may be baptized, and the Baptisme is into the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of the *holy Ghost*. No sureties are required.

Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the Ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The Magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons dispose towards the

maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily.

This done, then followes admission of members, or hearing matters of offence, or other things, sometimes till it be very late. If they have time, after this, is sung a Psalme, and then the Pastor concludeth with a Prayer and a blessing.

Collecteana

From the records of Roxbury, during the life of Elder Heath, when the town was in its infancy, a mere plantation.

"Accounted with the Capt. of ye Castle Bye ye Town of Roxbury the 29th of Aprill 1648 and wee f[ind] accounts : yt from ye first time yt any garisone was [at the] Castle vntille last michalmas† for horse and other charges in 1647 yt ye same unpaid"—[torn off.]

"A Rate made this 2d of January 1648 made by the t[own] of Roxbury for the Castle and severall other town occasions amounting to the just sum of 27-07 and put into the hands of John Wody then Constable."

"Memorandum that this 21st of ye 12th moneth * * these underwritten were by papers chosen to

† September 29.

‡ He uniformly spelt his name Bowles as appears by his autograph in various places in the town records.

bee select men to order ye Town affaires & for ye yeare ensuing viz. Captaine Prichard, Lieutenant [Henry] John [son], John Boles‡ and Broth'r Williams. The same day it was voted that those younger me[n who] have payed Rates to Towne charges and have not Land as yett allotted to them shall by ye * * * have [ye] severall proportions allowed unto them out of such gr[ounds] as shall be found out not to be yett disposed of, The * * * are John Stebbin, William Lyon, Humfry Johnson, George Bra , peter .

"The same day it was voated that ye maintenance of the ministry for the next ensuing yeare shall be raised according to men's visible estates and noe repect to be had unto men's charges in ye thing.

"The same day it was voated that Mr. Elliott shall have for his labors in ye ministry amongst us sixty pounds and Mr. Davenport for his, fifty pounds for ye next yeere ensuing ye date hereof in case that Mr. Davenport come unto us and live among us this spring and soe continue.

"The same day it was voated that John Johnson, Deneson, and John Gore, with Mr. John Allcocke, and William Cheney, should be the men that shall * * * ensuing yeere rate men according to their estates for defraying of ye fore sayd charges of ye ministry.

"The same day it was voted that ye Meeting howse should suddenly be set in safe repaire and ye charges to be defrayed out of ye Constable Rates,

John Johnson, John Woody, and John Ruggles being overseers of ye worke.

"The same day it was voted that ye five men chosen by ye * * * shall have for ye present yeere full pow'r to make and execute such orders as they in their apprehensions shall think to be m[ost] conducing to ye best good of ye Towne.

"ffeb. this 23th 1648.

"It was agreed with John Woody Constabell: the sayd John is to ffenc in the buring plas :† with a ffenc of ston wall sefishently don for strength and workmans[hip] also to make a doball gatt of 6 or 8 ffeet wide also to hing it and to ffind all stuf and stons and workmanshipe, and he is to finish by the ffirst of Ju[ne] next: and in considerashon of this work he is to have six pounds and to paye himself out of the town Ratt in * * * we * * * to sett to o'r hands ye day above Retten. the penalty was put att * * *

pr me John Wooddey
pr me Joshua
pr me John Johnson.

witness per vs
John [Stebbin?]
Benjamin Child

"We doe appoint that William Curtesse with ye helpe of John Boles and John Webb and Francis Smyth shall measure out unto William Lyon: Geo.

† The ancient place of burial at the corner of Washington and Eustis Streets.

Brown, and John Stebbin, being six Acres each man; for Joshua Hewes.

John Gore
John Bowles
Robart Williams

"The 17 of the 11th 1652.

"John Johnson: John Rugels sen. Ed. Deneson: Griffin Craft & John Boles [Bowles] ar chosen by the towne for selectmen for the yeare ensuing."

"The tenth of March forty two

"It is agreed between Elder Isaack Heath & Captaine Joseph Weld that the sayd Isaack Heath shall make & maintaine all the outside fence from his house to the topp of the lane leading up to the meeting and so tc Jasper Raulin's orchyard & Captaine Joseph Weld to make and maintain the fence between him the said Joseph & Isaack Heath, quite through both their two lotts."

Witnessed by John Johnson, John Bowles, and John Ruggles.

"John Johnson, Tho. Meakins, John Bowles, Ed. Bredy, Willi. Park, were chosen by the town of Roxbury to be the selectmen for the year insuing from this 29 of the 11 mo: 1654."

"The town boock wherein most men's lands being recorded by God's providence being burned, thereby dammidg may * * * to buvzi [busy?] all men, to prevent dammedg as aforesayd it is ordered by the town of Roxbury that there shall * * * chosen to

doe their best in deuer to put down such men's lands giuen them by the town or that may be lands there other ways, and make return vnto the town within three months so as this may be accomplished for the * * * as dammedge as aforesayd, and allsoe to record their ways and the town priulidges. 17 of 11 1652.

John Johnson
William Parke
Isak Morrell
Ed. Denyson
Griffen Craft."

"The twenty ninth of January (54) it being uoted by the town, Liberty was granted to John Gorton & Robert Pepper to breu & sell peny beare & cakes & white bread.

"The same day being uoted by the towne the great white oak in the * beyond the further gate in the Quenecticote [Connecticut] lane was giuen to John Newell.

"The twenty ninth of January (54) it was uoted by the towne & concluded by the towne uote that hence forward the select men shall have no power to giue or sell or giue power to lopp or girdle any of the trees in the commons of Roxbury but reserve the power of the dispose of them wholy in their owne hands."

"John Johnson, Tho. Meakins, John Bowles, Ed. Bredy, Willi: Park, were chosen by the town of Roxbury to be the select men for the year insuing from this 29 of the 11 mo. 1654."

"21 of the 11th mo. 1655 it was votted that two gallyrys should be built in the meeting hous to inlardg som for more convenyant preaching to hire [hear?] the word of God and injoyment of God's ordinence, at the town chardg: and that fiue men should see this done by the twenty ninth of September next."

"13 of the 12 mo. 1655. Taken an account of the Constable William Cheany of a town ratt [rate] which he was to gather in some of 41.09.7. †

John Johnson.
William Parke
John Bowles
Tho. Meakins
Ed. Bredg."

"Payd to John Newell by a bill of the towne rat fourteen shills seaven pence towards the mending of the pounde & the clapboarding of the ends of the meeting house this nineteenth of March 55.56 by us the fiue men for that yeare."

[† This co-temporary order of the authorities, furnishes an example of the curious financial expedients of that period, and the extreme scarcity of money.

"This Court finding some Inconveniencyes in collecting of the Country Rate at this time of the year in regard Indian Corne is not merchantable, doe order that whosoever shall remove from one plantation to another, or out of the Country, betwixt this and the tenth of the first moneth, shall not have liberty to make payment of their sayde rate in Indian Corne, but shall make satisfaction according to law, some other way when they shall be required thereunto." 2(9)1655.]

January 19,1656. "Willyam Hopekins was chosen to dige graues for the town. He is to have for men and wimens graues two shillings per man or woman, and for children under tean years of age he is to have twelvepence per child."

"The same day ordered that Turkies shal be counted Trespassers in corne as liable to pay Damages as well as other cattle."

"The ninth day of February 1656 in a full towne meteing it was voted and agreed conserning the destroying of wolues for the incoredgment of any parsons or parsons in the Towne to take paines to kill them, they agreed and voted with a full consent to giue thirty shillings to be paid to the party or parties, obseruing order, bringing the Head to the constable, this to be payd by the Towne rate & so making up the same with what the country giues forty shillings.'

1657. 'The 29 day of January at a towne meeting thare ware chosen for fiue men

Edward Denison	Isack Morell
John Bowles	Edward Pason

Griffin Crafts.'

The same day men 'were chosen to run the Lines between Dorchester & Roxbury'; and 'betweene Boston, Cambridge and Dedham.'

'John Griggs had a parcel of Land granted to be layd out by the fiue men now chosen and Willyam Curtis, the land being neare squrell's delight.'

December 29, 1658, the selectmen 'reckoned with John Peirepoyntt,' the constable, respecting the 'rates' in his hand, and they found his accounts right. The constable's duties appear to have embraced those of treasuer, town crier, keeper of the peace, and sheriff. They also 'reckoned with Tobias Dauis, constable.' They ordered him to pay 'to Christopher Peak for Hue & Cryes, fiue shills & for himselfe for Hue & Cryes, warders, & such like thinges one pound fourteene shillings' &c., 'provided alwayes that in case that through the want of wheat coming in sufficient to pay the bill to Mr. Peacocke, the constable or Isaack Morrill be forced to 'pay in other corne at an under rate they or any of them acting by discression & counsell there in, we order they shall be alowed out of the thirteene shills & fower pence so as to suffer noe losse therebey.'

"January the twelfe [1658] it was agreed that the Meeting Howse should be repayred for the warmth and comfort of the people, namely that the Howse is to be shingled and also two galleries built with three seates in a gallery one at one end of the Howse and the other at the other end, also the howse to be plastered within side with lime and haire, also for the setting out [ornamenting] of the Howse that some pinakle or other ornaments be set upon each end of the Howse, also the bell to be remoued in some conuenient place for the benefit of the towne

and the charge to be borne by the seuerall inhabitance by way of a Rate, always provided before this be done that the beames of the Howse be wel searched that if there be such defects, as some think, we may not spend our money in vain.'

'The select men having a complaint coming to them from John Ruggles junior against Peleg Heath and Isack Heath, claiming a hie way for carting through the ground he hiereth of John Hanchet in the great hill lotts, soe heareing the case and examining the same, find by sufficient prouse [proof] that there is to be no hie way throu that lott but appeares that every man is to have his hye way in his own lot & and to that end the lotts ware first layed thay ware ordered and contriued to reach to the comon Road that Leads up the Hill by Isack Heath & Robert Prentices howse lotts.

'This thing was heard and concluded by us whose names are underwritten the 21 Aprill 1659.

John Johnson William Parke
Thomas Weld Robert Williams
Gilles Payson.'

'November 17 in the yeare 1663 in a publicke Towne meeting it being voted it was unanimously agreed by all the inhabitants that they would allow to Mr. John Eliot & Mr. Samuell Danforth for there Labour in the ministry for the halfe yeare last past the sume of sixty pounds.'

The first impressions received by our Fathers, and the estimates then formed, as to the fertility of the land, were, on the whole, unfavorable. The Rev. Thomas Shephard, of Cambridge, in 1646, wrote, "with our New English ground when we first came over, scarce any man that could believe that English grain would grow, or that the plow could do any good in this woody and rockey soile. And thus they continued in this supine unbelieſe for some years, till experience taught them otherwise, and now all see it to be scarce inferior to Old-English tillage, but bears very good burdens."* The Rev. William Hooke, of Taunton, in 1640, said, "for plenty never land saw the like." The only co-temporary topographical description of Roxbury, which the writer has discovered, is furnished by JOHNSON,† who wrote in 1654, in a strain almost poetical. He describes Roxbury as "situated between *Boston* and *Dorchester*, being well watered with coole and pleasant Springs issuing forth the Rocky hills, and with small Freshets, watering the Vallies, of this fertill Towne, whose forme is somewhat like a wedge, double pointed, entering between the two fore-named Townes and filled with a very laborious people, whose

* Mass. Hist. Coll. xxiv. 15.

† A history of New England by Edward Johnson. London, 1654, pp. 43, 44. Johnson was an inhabitant of Woburn.

labours the Lord hath blest, that in the roome of dismall Swampes and tearing Bushes, they have very goodly Fruit-Trees, fruitfull Fields and Gardens, their Heard of Cowes, Oxen, and other young Cattell, of that kind, about 350, and dwelling houses neere upon 120.* Their streets are large. and some fayre Houses ; yet they have built their House for Church assembly, destitute and unbeautified with other buildings. The church of *Christ* here is increased to about 120 persons, their first Teaching *Elder* called to office is Mr. *Eliot*, a young man at his coming thither, of a cheerfull spirit, walking unblamable, of a godly conversation, apt to teach, as by his indefatigable paines both with his owne flock, and the poor *Indians* doth appeare, whose language he learned purposely to helpe them to the Knowledge of God in *Christ*, frequently preaching in their *Wigwams*, and Catechising their Children."

Lechford, a careful and impartial observer gave the following very favorable account † of the character and condition of the population in 1641 ; "Profane swearing, drunkenesse and beggars are but rare in the compasse of this Patent, though the circumspection of the Magistrates, and the providence of God hitherto, the poor living by their labours, and great wages, proportionably better than the rich by

* By the usual mode of computation, viz. five persons in a family, there was a population of about 600 people in Roxbury in 1653.

† Mass. Hist. Col. 23, 86.

their stocks, which, without exceeding great care, quickly waste;" and eleven years after, in 1652, this testimony is incidentally confirmed by Eliot, who said that it was "plainly to be observed, that one end of God's sending so many Saints to New England, was the Conversion of the Indians. For the Godly Counsels, and Examples they have had in all our Christian Families, have been of great use, both to prepare them for the Gospel, and also to further the Lord's work in them." *

Elder Heath lived long enough to witness the wonderful increase and prosperity of New England, and the bright promise of Eliot's and Mayhew's success among the Aborigines. He came into a wilderness, and, in its midst, he could now say, "I am a citizen of no mean country"—to whose up-building and welfare he had devoted a long and honorable life, with an influence reaching beyond the immediate scene of his active duties. We may well suppose that his eye often rested with delightful interest upon the ancient promise † to the people of God—"He hath cast the lot for them, and His hand hath divided it unto them by line: they shall possess it for ever, from generation to generation shall they dwell therein. The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose;" there is much in the passage which he would apply with peculiar happiness to the civil and

* Mass. Hist. Coll., 24, 216. † Isaiah xxxv.

religious blessings bestowed on them, almost distinguishing them as among "the ransomed of the Lord."

Though he was "old and stricken in years," and the days were drawing "nigh that he should die," the circumstances do not indicate any other than a vigorous old age, as he died during an epidemic, which proved fatal to many. In the records of the church,* his death is registered thus—"Month 11. day 21. 1660. Mr. Isaac Heath, Ruling Elder in this church dyed & was buryed on ye 23 day," and again, in the memorabilia, in another portion of the volume,† is a more minute entry, showing the nature of his sickness. "1660. 11 mo. The Lord was pleased to visit us with epidemic colds, coughs, agues and fevers. and "21 day. Elder Heath dyed of a sore throat, being ye issue of his cold and fever."

The Hon. John Hull of Boston, in his Memoranda of notable events, furnishes us with the popular estimate of his character, and adds a tribute to his memory, dearer to the heart, and more eloquent in its simplicity and sincerity, than the pompous and elaborate eulogy of place and circumstance. 1660, new style, "Jan. 21. Mr, Isaac Heith the Ruling Elder at Roxbury departed this life being about 75 yeares old, a man exemplarie for piety and fidelity in his charg, and likewise of good ability. the Good Lord make vs sensible off o'r pillars falling & raise vp others with a double portion of their spirit."‡

* folio 476. † folio 476. ‡ MS.

Thus honored and lamented he went down to his grave in peace, "in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season." As his was true excellence of character, not of external accomplishments, nor his happiness from outward circumstances, so was his burial in keeping with the simplicity of his life. It was almost two centuries ago, that on the twenty-third of January, a good company of the neighborhood assembled at the tolling of the bell, and carried the dead solemnly to his grave in the ancient burial-ground, and there stood silently, while he was buried out of their sight. No eulogy was pronounced,* for there was need of none; his life was before them; and in unison with its quiet, daily beauty, the stillness of the funeral scene was broken only by the voice of his friend and teacher, the Apostle, lifted in prayer.

"Heaven waits not the last moment; owns her friends
On this side death, and points them out to men;
A lecture silent, but of sovereign power!"

Though all loved him, there were but few in that gathering who were mourners bending over their dead. His brothers and his only child had gone before him, and of his household, none were left but his aged widow, and their son-in-law, John Bowles, with three grandchildren of tender age, whom, having "no son to keep his name in remembrance," he had cherished as his own. One of these, John Bowles, then seven years old, he "dedicated to God in the minis-

* Mass. Hist. Coll., 23, 94.

try, if it please Him to accept him." Thus was finished the course of one of those good men, who planted New England, and whose energy, firmness, wisdom and virtue laid, deep and broad, the foundation of her prosperity and happiness. Such men are living sermons. An eminent writer * says, "It is a generous pride that intertwines the consciousness of hereditary freedom with the memory of our ancestors,"—a patriotic and filial sentiment, inculcating the study of their lives and actions, and the duty of perpetuating their memory. There was a special law among the ancient people of God, enjoining them "to show to the generations to come the wonderful works that He had done," and "commanding the fathers, that they should make them known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God."†

The Fathers of New England dwelt upon this as of great importance. The Commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1646, urged "that there should be a collection of special Providences of God towards his New England people;" and the Rev. Mr. Sheppard, in his "Election Sermon" in 1672, insisted upon the same object; and the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, in his sermon before the General Assembly, May 23,

* "Hallam's Middle Ages," New York ed., p. 429.

† Psalm lxxviii. 4–7.

1677, said, "I pray you in the Name of the Lord, that a speedy & Effectual Course may be taken, that the great things that God did for our Fathers, be faithfully recorded and transmitted to posterity."

Elder Heath was not married, probably, until late in life, and the children of Elizabeth, his only child, were born in his old age. She died five years before her father, at the early age of twenty-five. The record of her death, made by the Apostle Eliot, shows the nature of her illness, and indicates her social rank. "1655. In the beginning of ye 5th moneth, God sent an Epidemical Sickness and faintness: few escaped, many were very sicke, several dyed, as Elizabeth Bowles in our town, Mr. Rogers of Ipswich, the Reverend Pastor there, Mr. Samuel Eaton, and his wife, (late Mrs. Haines,)" and on the seventh of the same month, was "buryed, Elizabeth Bowles, daughter to Elder Heath." *

Of all species of Evidence, whether of kindred or of the possessions of individuals, the most satisfactory is afforded by their Wills and the inventories of their estates.† From them we obtain information of the manners and habits of our ancestors, an accurate

* Eliot's Church Records, fol. 472.

† TESTAMENTA VETUSTA: London, 1826. 2 vols. 8 vo. The introduction to this work contains a full and interesting statement of the uses of these statistics, and *free use* has been made of it in the text.

knowledge of the form and value of the articles which constituted the furniture of their houses, their domestic utensils, beds, wearing apparel and armour, and their undisguised religious feelings and opinions. These are intimately connected with the domestic history of the country. The great value of chattels caused them to be described with a minuteness in wills and schedules, not only by persons of comparative insignificance, but even by the children of the royal family. If the value of this sort of information be doubted, the same suspicion must apply to every thing which relates to former times. Of what matter is it who wrote Junius' letters? yet some sixty volumes have been written upon that single question, and many more will be added to the catalogue. It is not curiosity only which is gratified by these inquiries, for by marking the alterations in manners and customs, and tracing the gradual but certain progress of intellectual improvement,—the former exhibited by the approaching to existing institutions, and the latter by the removal of superstitions and bigotry,—we receive ample objects for philosophical reflection.

The following table will be convenient for reference in reading Elder Heath's will.

HEATH.

Peleg Heath had issue born in New England.

William Heath, freeman in March, 1632–3, died 1652. Ancester of the respectable family of Heath in Roxbury; his son *Isaac*, named in *Elder Heath's* will, died Dec. 29, 1694.

ISAAC HEATH, born Ano. Xti. 1585, 5th of Queen Mary, freeman in New Eng. May 25, 1636; died at Roxbury, Jan. 21, 1669, (N.S.) XI of the Commonwealth; aged 75 years. =Elizabeth MILLER, born 1595, died "month 11, day 14, 1664," aged 69 years.

Dorothy, first wife, died. =JOHN BOWLES, freeman May 13, 1640. Ruling Elder of the church: "month 7th, day 24, 1680, [21st Charles II.] Dear Bro. Bowles was buried, he hath been Elder above five years."—*Eliot's Ch. Rec.* =Elizabeth Heath, born 1630. Married April 2, 1649; died July 6, 1655, aged 25 years.

Elizabeth, bapt. Feb. 3, 1650-1.

Isaack, bapt., April 18th, 1651–2. Died, "9th, 3d, 1652."

JOHN BOWLES bapt. June 27, 1653. Harvard College, 1671. Master of Arts, 1675. Ruling Elder of the Church in Roxbury; Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1690. Died March 30th, 1691, 2d William III. =Sarah, daughter of Rev. John Eliot, jr., of Newton. Nov. 16th, 1681, died May 23, 1687.

Mary born April 20, 1655. =Thomas Gardner, Nov. 17, 1673.

Elder Heath's Will.

"Haueing my understanding and memory by ye good blessing of ye Lord I doe make this my last will and Testament as followeth.

first, I give and bequeath to my wife this my dwelling house * and orchard, barnes, house Lott with all my land in ye lower Calues-pasture both upland meadow and salt marsh, by estimation 27 acres more or lesse, ye same to have and hold, possess and enjoy after my decease, dureing ye tearme of her naturall life, if my wife thinke this too cumbersome for her shee shall be [at] liberty to Choose to have ye new end of my house and all roomes appertayneing to it and fourteen pounds a yeare payd duly vnto her by my sonne *Bowles* of ye Best that ariseth of ye lands.

* His house was west of the road that led from Boston to the meeting house.—*Ellis' Hist.* 121.

"The tenth of March, 1642. It is agreed between Elder Isaack Heath and Captain Joseph Weld, that the sayd Isaac Heath shall make and maintaine all the outside fence from his house to the topp of the lane leading up to the meeting house and so to Joseph Raulin's orchyard and Captain Joseph Weld, to make and maintain the fence, quite through both their two lotts.

Witnessed by John Johnson, John Bowles,
and John Ruggles."

"Every man is to have his hye way in his owne lott and to that end the lotts were first layd, they were ordered and continued to reach to the common Road that Leads up the Hill by Isaack Heath and Robert Prentices howse lotts."—*Roxbury Town Records.*

All these lands and all other lands as they are in ye transcript of Roxbery (except about 6 acres in ye great lott which I have given my sonne *Bowles*, as long as he liueth and my part in ye 4000 acres which I give to ye schole in Roxbury, I give to my three Grand children *John Bowles*, *Elizabeth Bowles* and *Mary Bowles*, to them and their heires foreuer immediately after myne and their grandmother's decease. alsoe I give vnto my sonne *Bowles* full power to let, sell and improue all these lands as they shall come into his hands for ye best education of ye children, flurther my minde Is that *John Bowles* shall be mayntayned at schole and brovght vp to learning, in what way I haue dedicated him to God, if it please Him to accept him.

If my Wife Choose ye house and lands and they be not by due estimation worth 14 lb by ye year then my sonne *Bowles* shall make it vp soe much worth vnto her out of ye rent of my other lands.

I giue vnto my Cozin *Martha Brand* 2 lbs. I giue to my kinsman *Edward Morice* 2 lbs. I giue to my sonne *Bowles* my searge coat and best hatt. I giue to *Isaacke Heath* ye rest of my weareing Apparell.

My moueable goods both within doores and without and debts or state whateur of that kind I will that they shall be diuided into 4 equall pts betwixt my wife and my three Grand Children.

I give to *Mary Morice* my kinswoman twenty shillings, my will is that if here be not provision suf-

ficient for to afford my wife what I haue giuen her, and to bring vp *John* to learning I giue full power to my sonne *Bowles* with ye aduise of my overseers, to sell my pond lott or wood lott in ye middle diuision for ye supply of both. Alsoe I request my well beloued Brethren *John Eliot* and *William Parke* to doe ye office of loue to oversee ye fulfilling of this my last will and giue counsell at all tymes as need shall reqvire, to whom I giue as a token of loue each 20 shillings to be paid yr one . . . ; my will is that before my moveables be diuided all my debts and dues shall be payde and my houseing conveniently repayred, also I allow my wife convenient firewood out of my nether woodlot, for her life time and I make my sonne *Bowles* sole executor of this my will whom I doe invest with full powers to sell, let and Improue ye estate and lands of his three children my Grand Children, to aske, receive and order all things till ye time which I doe set downe here following viz. when *Elizabeth Bowles* shall attayne to 18 yeares or day of marriage all her pt of lands and goods shall be giuen to her—

I giue to *John Bowles* when hee cometh to ye age of twenty one years beside what falls to him of his share in my goods a double portion in my land. I giue to *Mary Bowles* when she attaynes to 18 yeares of age or day of marriage her pt of my Goods and lands.

If Benjamin Morice doe dutifully and duly serue out his time my will is that at ye end of his time he

shall receiue ye summe of fiue pounds to be payde vnto him by my executor. By me ISACK HEATH.

witnesses this 19th of ye 11th 1660.

JOHN ELIOT,
GEORGE BRAND,
JOHN STEBBINS.

At a County Court held 31 —— 1660, Mr. John Eliot, George Brand and John Stebbins deposed before ye Court that haueing subscribed their names as witnesses were present when ye late Isaacke Heath signed and published this paper to be his last will and Testament, aud was of a sound disposeing minde when he soe did.

Entered and Recorded this 2 November 1660."

Suffolk Probate Rec., Wills, vol. 1. fol. 361, 2, 3.

The autograph, preserved in the probate office, having been executed but two days before his death, and being in the hand-writing of Eliot, who was also a witness to it, plainly indicates the Apostle's presence at the bedside of the dying Elder, doing the offices of friendship in his secular affairs, as well as in the sacred ministrations of spiritual guidance and consolation.

> "One eye on death, and one full fix'd on heav'n,
> Becomes a mortal and immortal man."

Addressing himself to Eliot, who made faithful record of his words, he said, "I request you, my well-beloved brother, to do the office of love, to give counsel as need shall require for the Educating

of my grandchildren, Especially my grandson, whom I have dedicated to GOD, if it please Him to accept him." Eliot faithfully and lovingly fulfilled this last request of his friend, in the Christian nurture of the boy, who was educated at Harvard College, and grew up to manhood and honorable eminence; in his marriage to Sarah Eliot, consecrated by the benediction of the Apostle, the friendship of the Teacher and Elder was happily perpetuated by the alliance of their grandchildren.

The duties of a Ruling Elder were of so engrossing a nature,* that Mr. Heath's possession of the office indicates the leisure secured by a competent estate, and there is nothing in the records of the town showing him ever to have held any civil or lucrative office. The inference is that he brought sufficient property from England,† which, at the time of his death, amounted to about £700, exceeding the average value of estates at that period—but his heirs had a nobler, imperishable inheritance,

> "His conduct was a legacy for all,
> Richer than Mammon's for his single heir."

* MATHER'S "*Ratio Disciplinae*," p. 123.

† John Tey in 1641 left legacies to "Mr. Elliot, Teacher of Roxburye, Jacob, Philip and Frances Eliot and *Elder Heath*." Philip Eliot of Roxbury in his will, proved 11 Feb. 1657 desires his wife as his executrix to "doe nothing of moment without the counsel and approbation of my brother John Eliot, our Teacher, Elder Heath, Deacon Parks and John Ruggles senior, my dear brethren, whom I make my overseers."—N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg. II. 104, 5. Suffolk Prob. Rec. Vol. 1. 290.

That Elder Heath gave to religion the first importance and held his temporal affairs of secondary consideration was not, in his time, a peculiarity. John Carver and his associates of the "May-Flower" relinquished, deliberately, homes and the possession and enjoyment "of this world's goods" and fled to the wintry, desert shores of the Western waste, here "to seek *first* the Kingdom of God and his righteousness,"—Isaac Johnson, Endicott,* Winthrop, Dudley, Bradstreet, Cotton, Eliot and the Massachusetts planters, generally, did the same; they welcomed to this land of refuge, Morton of Charlestown, Oxenbridge of Boston, Gilbert of Topsfield, Thornton † of Yarmouth, Walley of Barnstable, and many others of that noble band,‡ who, under the woful act of Saint Bartholomew's, 1662, paid the same price for the free worship of God; all these by their lives give force and majesty to the following declarations, made in their solemn assemblies, and, by them, handed down for the instruction and guidance of after generations.

The Rev. John Norton of Ipswich, in 1659, said,

* Boston Courier, Aug. 26, 1846. American Ant. Soc's. Trans. vol. iii. c.

† Mather's Magnalia, Book VI. fol. 86. Mass. Hist. Col. V. 59. Am. Quart. Reg. Feb. 1839, p. 259, Vol. XV. page 61, 70. Hist. Gen. Reg. Vol. I. 278, IV. 344.

‡ Mather's Magnalia. Book III. fol, 4.

"it concerneth New-England * *always to remember*, that *originally* they are a *Plantation* RELIGIOUS, not a Plantation of Trade. A spot of this vast wilderness converted into cornfields, orchards, streets inhabited, and a place of merchandise, cannot de-

* The Plymouth and Massachusetts settlements were of very different origin from the other plantations, but the celebrated Poet and Divine, Dr. John Donne, in his sermon before the "Virginian Plantation," in 1622, presents a very favorable view of that company.

"As God taught vs to build houses, not to house ourselves, but to house him, in erecting churches to his glory: So God taught vs to make Ships, not to transport ourselves, but to transport him, that we might be witnesses unto him, unto the uttermost parts of the Earth to those poore souls to whom you are continually sending. Beloved in him, whose kingdom, and Gospel you seek to advance, in this Plantation, let thy principal respect be the glorie of God, defer the consideration of temporal gaine, and studie first the advancement of the Gospell of Christ Jesus." "That your principall end is not Gain nor Glory, but to gain soules to the Glory of God; this scales the Great Scale, this iustifies iustice itselfe, this authorizes authoritie, and giues power to Strength itselfe. Let the conscience be upright, and then the *Scales*, and *Patents* and *Commissions*, are Wings; they assist him to flye the faster. Let the Conscience be lame, and distorted, and hee that goes vpon *Scales* and *Patents* and *Commissions*, goes vpon weak and feeble Crutches. When the *Holy Ghost* is come vpon you, your Conscience rectified, you shall have *Power*, a new power out of that; what to doe? that followes, to bee *Witnesses vnto Christ*." "*Apollos* watered, but *Paul* planted; *he that begun this work was the greater man.*— And you that are young now, may live to see the Enemy [the Papists] as much impeached by that place, and your friends, yea Children, as well accommodated in that place as any other. You shall have made this *Iland*,

nomniate New-England," "if she fall away from her profession." "What was said of Samnium, they could not find Samnium in Samnium, will be verified concerning these churches, *viz.* that New-England is *not* to be found in New-England"; three years afterward, in May 1663, the Rev. John Higginson * of Salem, in his Election Sermon "before

which is but as the *Suburbs* of the old world, a Bridge, a Gallery to the new; to ioyne all to that world, that shall neuer grow old, the Kingdom of Heauen, You shall add persons to this kingdom and adde names to the Bookes of our Chronicles, and to the Booke of Life." "For, for that, which is especially in my contemplation, the conuersion of the people, as I have receiued so I can giue this testimonie, that of those persons, who have sent in moneys, and concealed their Names, the greatest part, almost all, have limited their Deuotion and Contribution vpon that point, the propagation of Religion, and the Conversion of the people." "O God, Looke graciously, and looke powerfully vpon this Body, which thou hast been now some yeeress in building and compacting together, this Plantation."

Yet this colony was, in fact, a *commercial and a penal colony.* Dr. Donne in the sermon already quoted, said of "the Plantation," "It shall redeem many a wretch from the Lawes of death, from the hands of the Executioner, vpon whom, perchance a small fault, or perchance a first fault, or perchance a fault heartily and sincerely repented, perchance no fault, but malice, had otherwise cast a present and ignominious death. It shall sweepe your streets, and wash your doores, from idle persons, and the children of idle persons and employ them: and truely, if the whole countrey were but such a *Bridewell,* to force idle persons to work, it had a good vse". But the unlikeness of this to the New England colonies, i-

* Boston Courier, Sept. 16. 1846.

the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony," said "our Saviour Christ hath commanded, seek first the Kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added, Mat. 6. 33. Accordingly when the Lord stirred up the spirits of so

too distinct—compare not only their commercial and agricultural statistics, which are the growth, the practical effects of elementary principles, but the moral and educational results—Under the Administration of Gov. Berkley in 1643 the Assembly passed an act which not only forbade the New England Clergy "to teach or preach publicly or privately," but ordered also "that the govenor and council do take care that all non-conformists shall be compelled to depart the colonie with all convenieacie." By this measure they banished, at least one, of their wealthiest and most respectable planters, with many others, to New England. This same Berkeley who was Governor of that Colony nearly forty years, and whom Charles II., called an "old fool," in an official document in June, 1671, said, "we have forty-eight parishes and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less; but, as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we have few that we can boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. YET I THANK GOD, THERE ARE NO FREE SCHOOLS, NOR PRINTING; *and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best governments.*" See also the letters of Giles of Virginia in the Richmond Enquirer, in January 1818, against general education.

"A sermon vpon Acts 1. 8. preached to the Honorable company of the Virginian Plantation, 13 Novemb. 1622, by JOHN DONNE Deane of Saint Paul's, London. London. Printed for Thomas Iones, 1624." 2d Ed. not in his works in folio—*passim*. New Eng. Hist. Gen. vol. I. 348.

many of his People to come over into this Wilderness, it was not for worldly wealth, or a better Livelihood, here for the outward man: the generality of the People that came over professed the contrary: nor had we any rational Grounds to expect such a thing in such a wilderness as this.

"And though God hath blessed his poor People here with an Addition of many earthly Comforts, and there are those that have increased here from small Beginnings to great Estates, that the Lord may call this whole Generation to witness and say, *O Generation see the Word of the* LORD, *have I been a Wilderness unto you?* Jer. 2. 32. *O Generation see!* Look upon your Towns and Fields, look upon your Habitations, and Shops, and behold your numerous Posterity, and great Increase in the Blessings of the Land and Sea, *Have I been like a Wilderness unto you? We must needs Answer, No,* LORD, *thou hast been a gracious* GOD, and exceeding good unto thy Servants, ever *since* we came into this *Wilderness, even in these earthly Blessings, we live in a more plentiful and comfortable manner than ever we did expect.* But these are but Additions, they are but Additional Mercies, it was *another Thing* and *a better Thing* that we followed the Lord into the Wilderness for.

My Fathers and Brethren, this is never to be forgotten that NEW-ENGLAND is originally *a Plantation of* RELIGION, *not a Plantation of Trade.*

"Let Merchants and such as are increasing *Cent*

per Cent remember this: Let others that have come over since at several Times understand this, that worldly Gain was not the End and Design of the People of NEW ENGLAND, but RELIGION. And if any man amongst us make RELIGION as *twelve*, and the *World* as *thirteen*, let such an one know he hath neither the Spirit of a *true New-England Man*, nor yet of a *sincere Christian*,* &c."

The twenty-fiue of ye eleventh month 1660.

An Inventory of all ye goods and whole estate of Elder Isaac Heath late of Roxbery deceased.

Imprimis.—All his weareing apparell giuen away by his will not prized.

It. a dwelling house with barne, stables and other outhouses with two orchards and the home lott, £200.00.00.

It. twenty seaven acres of meadow and upland in ye lower calves pasture 100.00.00.

It. sixe acres of Arable land inclosed taken out of the upper Calves-pasture and about three roods of meadow Adjoyning vnto Isaack Morrells his wood Lott with a wood Lott abt twelve acres 100.00.00

It. seaven Cowes, three heifers and 1-2 heifer 43.13.00

It. two mares, two colts and a halfe Colt 39.00.00

It. in plate and spoones at 6s pr ounse 008.01.00

It. in plate at 5s an ounce 002.00.00

* Prince's "Christian History," pp. 66. 68.

It. in hay in ye barne and stables	007.10.00
It. five small swine	003.00.00
It. in fourty eight bushels of pease	009.12.00
It. in Barley 17 bushels at 4s 6d	003.00.00
It. in Indian Corne forty bushels	006.00.00
It. five bushels of wheat and one of mault	001.00.00
It. one musket and two swords	000.16.00
It. seaven flitches of Bacon and beefe in ye tub	005.00.00
&c. &c.	
It. one Tapestry Couerlet	007.00.00
It. 4 yards of cotton	000.12.00
It. two carpets	002.04.00
It. thirty four pieces of pewter new and old great and small. "bed ticking, perristone,	003.00.00
Irish stockings, *blue linen*, *Kersey*, *Searge*,''' &c., &c.	
It. one bedstead, Curtaines, valence, one *Rugg*,* two bolsters five pillows and 4 blankets, one bolster with a *featherbed* with two coverlets	020·00.00
carts, wheels, ploughchains, wedges, beetles, axes, "one road saddle," &c.	

* A coarse woolen cloth, anciently used as a bed cover. The following curious document shows the word to have been in common use. "The Deposition of Edward Eucrett Aged Thirty foure yeares or thereabouts Testifieth and Saith yt on ye Last Lord's Day beinge ye 23th of this month of January I beinge But just gotten Into my Bed and ye maid *Coueringe mee wth the Rugg*, Goody Hale Appeared to mee Between Nine and ten a clocke in ye morneinge vpon wch I Rise and called to seueral People Standing by and tould them there was Goody Hale and soe flung my hatt to her and vpon that shee Vanished out of my sight and farther saith not."—Sworn in Court prio feby 1680 pr. Isa. Addington, *Cler.*

It. in bookes,	002.12.00
It. two fatt Calues	002.08.00
It. in Benjamin* Morice's time	005.00.00
It. due from William Lyon	000.02.00
It. due from Deacon Trusdall	002.05.00
It. 2 acres and a half Rye on ye ground	002.20.00
It. Money in hand and due to be paid	035.09.0s
It. due from Joseph Wise remaining for a Cow &c.	002.10.00
It. in flax and flaxen yarn, in wool and woollen yarne	002.13.00
It. due from Daniell Aynsworth	002.20.00
Sum total	£671.06.04
It. paid in funerall expenses and legacyes and small debts that he owed	024.11.02
It. more left in ye executors hands to repaire houses and fences and to defray other small debts	25.00.00
It. ye remainder of all the movables to be divided into 4 pts according as is expressed in ye will.	

This accott was taken and accepted by the overseers of ye said will before this Inventory was put into ye Court,

JOHN ELIOT

witnesses WILLM PARKE.

ISAAC MORRELL

THOMAS WELD.

Att a meeting of ye magistrates 14th March 1660, present the *Gouer'r*, Major *Hump. Atherton*, Mr.

* A branch of the Morris family removed to New Roxbury or Woodstock, at its first planting. Commodore Charles Morris of the U. S. Navy is one of its most distinguished sons,

Danforth Recorder at ye Governors house. *John Bowles* deposed before the magistrate that this is A true Inventory of ye estate of ye late Isaac Heath, his father in law, to the best of his knowledge, when hee knowes more hee will discouer it.

Suffolk Probate Records, Inventories. Vol. 4. fol. 12. 13. 14.

Mrs. Heath survived her husband but four years, and died when about seventy years of age; * her christian faith and character, her generous care for all about her, her amiable temper and benevolent recognition of all with whom she was connected, beautifully appears in this last solemn act of her life.

Her will mentions her relationship or connection with so many of the Roxbury families, as Burnet, Gary, Johnson, Waterman, Brand, Morris, &c. that it furnishes a strong reason for believing they were from one locality or neighborhood in England. Studied ingenuity could hardly have named so many relationships, without indicating the family name of the testatrix. Patient inquiry in regard to the several surnames mentioned in the will, might possibly lead to the discovery of her maiden name.

January 1. 1664.

In the name of God Amen. I *Elizabeth Heath* of Roxbury, widow, being, by the mercy of God, per-

* "1664, month, day, 14, Elizabeth Heath, widow of Elder Heath, buryed."—Eliot's Ch. Rec. fol. 478.

fect in minde and will, though very weak in Body, Doe hereby make ordaine and publishe this to be my Last will and Testament, hereby Revoking all my former wills if any.

ffirst. I giue and resighne up my soul into the armes of my Dear Lord and Sauior Jesus Christ my redeemer, hoping and beleuing at my resurrection by his meritts to partake of his Glory. And for my Body I Commit to ye earth to be Decently Interred by my executr: And for the portion of goods and estate the Lord hath lent me I giue Bequeath and Dispose of as ffolloweth.*

* The minuteness of detail in these ancient documents is exhibited in the following instances taken from Sir Harris Nicolas' "Vetusta Testamenta," Lady Hastings in her will, 1503, mentions her "*bed* of arres, tillor and *counterpane*, late borrowed of me." p. 452. William, Earl of Southampton, in his will, made 10 Sept. 1542, proved 16 Feb. 1542-3 gives "to my nephew John Cutts, [nephew of his half-sister Lucy Browne and son of John Cutts] C marks, *twelve feather beds and all the furniture.*" pp. 588. 709. Elizabeth, Lady Scrope, of Upsall and Marsham, widow of Henry, Lord Scrope, of Bolton, daughter of John Neville, Marquess of Montague, in her will made 7th March. 9 Henry VIII. 1518 gave "to Mary daughter in law unto Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset *my bed that my Lord Marquis was wont to lie on*: to my Lady Lucy my sister [wife of Sir Anthony Browne] *a primer and a psalter* which I had of the gift of King Henry the Seventh's mother; to my niece Lucy, her daughter, who is" [engaged to be] "married to John Cutt, the son of Sir John Cutt, but in case she do disagree" [to the proposed marriage] "she shall have no part of my lands; there be three chauntries in my inheritance in Borow in Cambridgeshire; my niece Lucy

Impr. I giue unto my sister *Burnet*, and *Martha Brand* my two Cowes heer at home after my Death, my sister to take her Choice, and my will is they Bee kept this winter of my Hay, without any charge to them.

It. I giue to *Isaack Burnet* Lately gone to sea my young sow, if he either Come Back or send before ye next summer, else my will is that his mother my sister shall have her and that she [be] kept at my charge until then.

It. I giue unto *Jacob Newell's* wife twenty shillings to be pd her within one moneth after my Death halfe in money the rest in Corne.

It. I giue unto *Isaack Jones* his daughter, that he had by *Hannah Heath* fifteen shillings, fiue in money the rest in corne, paid her within a month after my Death.

It. I giue to *Mary Heath* 20s and to *Nicholas Williams* as much to be paid to either of ym within the moneth after my Death.

It. I giue to *Thomas Morey* ten shillings to bee paid him a little before his time of service [illegible] and as much to his mother that now is to be paid her within a moneth after my Decease.

It. I giue to my cousin *Garry* the Old man, twenty shillings and to Goodman *Fruysell* that mar-

Browne now called Lucy Cutts; And I constitute Sir John Cutts, Knight, and my neice Lucy Browne my Executors." proved 9 Dec. 1521. 12 Henry VIII.

ried Goodman *Busketh* Daughter as much to be pd each of them within one moneth after my Death.

It. I will and appoint that my Cousinne Capt. *Johnson* shall have the ffirst yeare's increase of my two Cowes at *Isaack Williams.*

It. I giue to my Grandchildren my three Cowes two Being at *Isaack Williams* and that I left to Goodman *Bush.*

Item, my Minde and Will is that my sister *Waterman* shall have the use of my Mare during her Life and I give her unto *John Bowles* my grandchild, and my wearing apparrell I giue Between my sister *Burnett* and *Waterman.*

And I make, Ordaine and appoint my sonne in Law *Bowles* Executor of this my will.

At a Meettng of the Magestrates and Recorder 19th Jan. 1664 Power of Administration to the estate of *Elizabeth Heath* Widow is Granted to *John Bowles* to performe the Imperfect will above written as neer as may bee, Bringing in an Inventory of the Estate to the next Court.

Present. *Edw. Rawson*, Recorder.
R. Bellingham, Depty. Gouerr.
Capt. Gookin.
and Recorder.

Suffolk Probate Records, Wills, Vol. 1. 442.

Jan. 31, 1664. *William Parke* and *Thomas Welld*, appraised the estate—Mr. *William Crowne*, *John Palmeter*, *Robert Pepper*, *Jonathan Peake*,

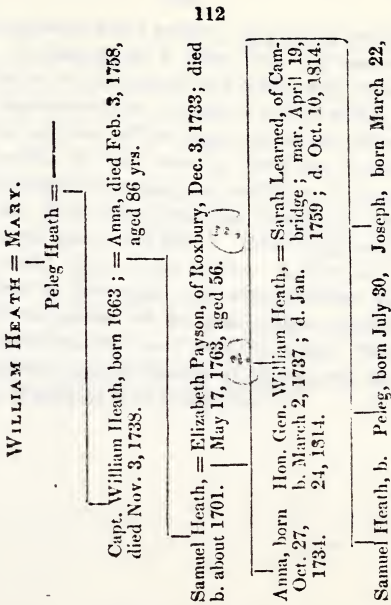
Hugh Thomas, Arthur Gerye, Mrs. Meades, Jno. Polly and Joseph Wise owed the estate,—which is Dr to Legacies bequeathed." to George *Branne*, and to her sister *Burnum*, to her sister *Waterman*—, to Capt. *Johnson* the use of 2 Cowes 1 year, and after giuen unto *John Bowles* children, to *James ffrissell*, *Edward Morris*, and *Isaack Burnop*--" to Coffinne and Rayles," wine at her Burial," " to Maids wages, " to the church " To *Edward Morrisse*, to *Thomas Hawley*, to *Joshua Lambe*, Goodman *Griffinne*—Goodwife Tillar. &c. &c.

ffeb. 8. 1664. Jno. Bowles deposed in Court that this paper Containes a true Inventory of the Estate of Widow *Heath* his Late Mother in Lawe, to his Best Knowledge and when he Knowes more he will discouer it.

Edward Rawson, Recorder.

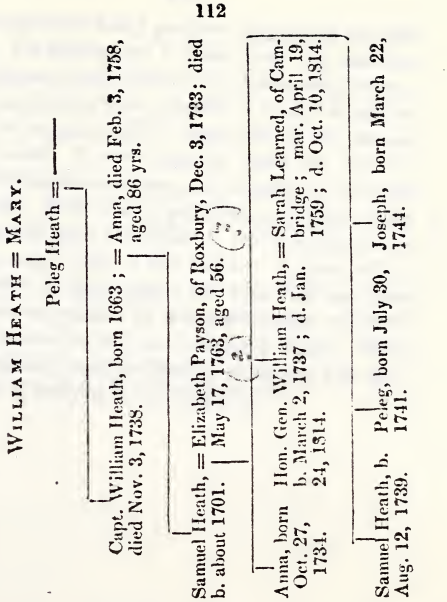
Suffolk Probate Records, Inventories, Vol. 4 fol. 217, 218.

The late Gen. William Heath left a brief record of his descent from William, the brother of Isaac Heath, which is presented in tabular form on the next page. The Apostle Eliot's record says of William, that " he came to this Land in the year 1632, and soon after joyned to the Church ; he brought 5 children."



Brissot de Warville who visited the United States in 1788, thus mentions Gen. Heath :

" Mr. Adams is not the only man distinguished in this great revolution, who has retired to the obscure labours of a country life. General Heath is one of those worthy imitators of the Roman Cincinnatus : for he likes not the American *Cincinnati:* their



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eagle appears to him a gewgaw, proper only for children. On shewing me a letter from the immortal Washington, whom he loves as a father, and reveres as an angel—this letter, says he, is a jewel which, in my eyes, surpasses all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world. It was a letter in which that General had felicitated him for his good conduct on a certain occasion. With what joy did this respectable man shew me all parts of his farm! What happiness he enjoys on it! He is a true farmer. A glass of cider, which he presented to me with frankness and good humour painted on his countenance, appeared to me superior to the most exquisite wines. With this simplicity, men are worthy of liberty, and they are sure of enjoying it for a long time."

BOWLES.

"One thing, therefore, ought to be aimed at by all men; that the interest of each individually, and of all collectively, should be the same; for if each should grasp at his individual interest, all human society would be dissolved. And also, if nature enjoins this, that a man should desire to consult the interest of a man, whoever he is, for the very reason that he is a man, it necessarily follows that, as the nature, so the interest, of all mankind is a common one. . . . . The principle that they have nothing in the way of right, no society with their fellow citizens, for the sake of the common interest, tears asunder the whole social compact. . . . . It is more contrary to nature that man, for the sake of his own gain, should wrongfully take from man, than that he should endure all such disadvantages, either external or in the person, or even in the mind itself as are not the effects of injustice. For that virtue, Justice, is the mistress and queen of all virtues." —[Cicero's Offices, Book iii. ch. vi. And to the same effect see also Hume's Essays, Part ii. Essay 11.

"Alas, sir! a commonwealth ought to be but one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same we shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle, both in his Ethics and Politics, from the principles of reason, lays down: by consequence, therefore, that which is good and agreeable to monarchy, will appear soonest to be so, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every Christian; and that which can be justly proved hurtful and offensive to every true Christian, will be evinced to be alike hurtful to monarchy: for God forbid that we should separate and distinguish the end and good of a monarch, from the end and good of monarchy, or of that from Christianity."—[Milton's Prose Works; Bohn's Ed. II. 391. "Of Reformation in England."

"Free commonwealths have been ever counted fittest and properest for civil, virtuous, and industrious nations, abounding with prudent men worthy to govern; monarchy fittest to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud luxurious people."—[Ibid. p. 360.

"So absolute was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the PURITANS ALONE; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."—HUME.

New England has the proud distinction of tracing her origin to causes purely moral and intellectual—a fact which fixes the character of her founders and planters as elevated and refined,—not the destroyers of cities, provinces and empires, but the founders of civilization in America.

The quarrel of Henry VIIIth. was more about supremacy than the faults of the papacy; and the "bishops, renouncing the pope, still hugged the popedom and shared the authority among themselves," persecuting the dissenters none the less that Henry VIII. was the spiritual head of the Church! They assimilated the worship of the Church of England to the papal ritual, and enforced the laws against the papists, with forbearing lenity, though they objected to the established religion as a whole, and were, in fact, most obnoxious to the law, while they persecuted the Puritans, who excepted, almost exclusively, to "the chaff of overdated, senseless ceremonies, retained as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to Rome, and serving only, either as a mist to cover nakedness where true grace is extinguished, or as an interlude to set out the pomp of prelatism."

Elizabeth was persuaded that to alter the ecclesias-

tical polity, or put down the bishops* would move sedition, which she feared and hated more than error, and thus religion and humanity were made secondary to her own royal security and interests. In the second year of her reign the half reformed † liturgy of Edward VI. was confirmed and "from that time followed nothing but imprisonment, troubles, disgraces on all those that found fault with the devices of the Convocation and straightway they *were branded with the name of* PURITANS."

* "No bishop, no king," a trim paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the twin brother to it out of the Jesuits' cell: they feeling the axe of God's reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of papacy, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend, and safest refuge, to soothe him up in his dream of a fifth monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit papalty, have invented this superpolitic aphorism, as one terms it, "One pope and one king." . . . . . And now they would persuade regal power that if they dive, he must after. "No bishop, no king."—*Milton's "Republic in England."*

† Among some pious, well-meaning men it is common to inveigh against the Reformation, to deprecate and exaggerate the evils that it created, by the excesses of liberty and sigh with holy grief over the lack of reverence for the dusty fragments and legends called "the fathers" and the heathenish mummeries which ignorance and superstitious devotion foisted into the Christian Church. They rejoice over the disputes and dissensions of the thinking, living puritans, as proofs of weakness, while they really develope the great principles of religious liberty. Let them go to Rome, and find quiet servile enjoyment in a befitting thraldom and bondage, free from the trouble and perplexity of thought.

Thanks be to God, the Poet, Statesman, Philosopher, JOHN MILTON, WAS A PURITAN. In his book of the "Reformation in England," published in 1641, he sets forth, fully, the facts and principles which gave birth to New England, and as he makes express reference to us, I have adopted his as the most profound, elegant and authentic history of New-England, while she was yet living in Old England,—the embryo of the new State. Reviewing the history and principles of the reformation, so congenial to his own great spirit, he exclaims :

"Ever blessed be He, and ever glorified, that from his high watchtower in the heavens, discerning the crooked ways of perverse and cruel men, hath hitherto maimed and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great wizards with a delusion fit for fools and children : had God been so minded, He could have sent a spirit of mutiny amongst us, as He did between Abimelech and the Sechemites, to have made our funerals, and slain heaps more in number than the miserable surviving remnant ; but He, when we least deserved, sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those His cherubims that fan His mercy-seat. Nor shall the wisdom, the moderation, the Christian piety, the constancy of our nobility and commons of England, be ever forgotten, whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant than of solid and deep reach, until their own fury had run itself

out of breath, assailing by rash and heady approaches the impregnable situation of our liberty and safety, that laughed such weak enginery to scorn, such poor drifts to make a *national war of a surplice brabble, a tippet scuffle*, and engage the untainted honor of English knighthood to unfurl the streaming red cross, or to rear the horrid standard of those fatal guly dragons, for as unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their fellow-subjects that which themselves are weary of, *the skeleton of a mass-book.*— Nor must the patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland, striving against manifold provocations; nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto be unremembered, to the shameful conviction of all their detractors.

"Go on both hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but *seek only virtue, not to extend your limits;* for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men? *but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state;* then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye, envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief or outlandish cunning: yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye, for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue.

"I proceed within my own bounds to show you next what good agents they are about the revenues

and riches of the kingdom, which declare of what moment they are to monarchy, or what avail. Two leeches they have that still suck and suck the kingdom—their ceremonies and their courts. If any man will contend that ceremonies be lawful under the gospel, he may be answered otherwhere. This doubtless, that they ought to be many and overcostly, no true protestant will affirm. Now I appeal to all wise men, what an excessive waste of treasure hath been within these few years in this land, not in the expedient, but in the idolatrous erection of temples beautified exquisitely to outvie the papists, the costly and dear-bought scandals and snares of images, pictures, rich copes, gorgeous altar-cloths: and by the courses they took, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madness, where a pious pretext is so ready at hand to cover their insatiate desires. What can we suppose this will come to? What other materials than these have built up the spiritual Babel to the height of her abominations? Believe it, sir, right truly it may be said, that Antichrist is Mammon's son. The *sour leaven* of human traditions, mixed in one putrefied mass with the poisonous dregs of hypocrisy in the hearts of prelates, that lie basking in the sunny warmth of wealth and promotion, is the serpent's egg that will hatch an Antichrist wheresoever, and engender the same monster as big, or little, as the lump is which breeds him. If the splendor of gold and silver begin to lord it once again in the

church of England, we shall see Antichrist shortly wallow here, though his *chief kennel be at Rome.* If they had one thought upon God's glory, and the advancement of Christian faith, they would be a means that with these expenses, thus profusely thrown away in trash, rather churches and schools might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are ; a moderate maintenance distributed to every painful minister, that now scarce sustains his family with bread, while the prelates revel like Belshazzar with their full carouses in goblets and vessels of gold snatched from God's temple; which (I hope) the worthy men of our land will consider. Now then for their courts. What a mass of money is drawn from the veins into the ulcers of the kingdom this way; their extortions, their open corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous harpies that swarm about their offices, declare sufficiently. And what though all this go not over sea ? It were better it did : better a penurious kingdom, than where excessive wealth flows into the graceless and injurious hands of common sponges, to the impoverishing of good and loyal men, and that by such execrable, such irreligious courses.

"If the sacred and dreadful works of holy discipline, censure, penance, excommunication, and absolution, where no profane thing ought to have access, nothing to be assistant but sage and Christianly admonition, brotherly love, flaming charity and zeal; and then according to the effects, paternal sorrow, or

paternal joy, mild severity, melting compassion : if such divine ministeries as these, wherein the angel of the church represents the person of Christ Jesus, must lie prostitute to sordid fees, and not pass to and fro between our Saviour, that of free grace redeemed us, and the submissive penitent, without the truckage of perishing coin, and the butcherly execution of tormentors, rook, and rakeshames sold to lucre ; then have the *Babylonish merchants of souls* just excuse. Hitherto, sir, you have heard how the prelates have weakened and withrawn the external accomplishments of kingly prosperity, the love of the people, their multitude, their valour, their wealth ; mining and sapping the outworks and redoubts of monarchy. Now hear how they strike at the heart and vitals.

We know that monarchy is made up of two parts, the liberty of the subject, and the supremacy of the king. I begin at the root. See what gentle and benign fathers they have been to our liberty! Their trade being, by the same alchemy that the pope uses, to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the *drossy bullion of the people's sins;* and justly fearing that the quick sighted *protestant's eye, cleared in great part from the mist of superstition*, may at one time or another look with a good judgement into these their deceitful pedleries ; to gain as many associates of guiltiness as they can, and to infect the temporal magistrate with the like lawless, though not sacrilegious extortion, see awhile what they do ! they engage themselves to preach, and persuade an assertion for

truth the most false, and to this monarchy the most pernicious and destructive that could be chosen. What more baneful to monarchy than a popular commotion? for the dissolution of monarchy slides aptest into a democracy; and what stirs the Englishmen as our wisest writers have observed, sooner to rebellion, than violent and heavy hands upon their goods and purses? Yet these devout prelates, spite of our Great Charter, and the souls of our great progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the Norman gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowess, for these many years have not ceased in their pulpits wrenching and spraining the text, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred and life-blood laws, statutes, and acts of parliament, that are the holy covenant of union and marriage between the king and his realm, by prosecuting and confiscating from us all the right we have to our own bodies, goods, and liberties. What is this but to blow a trumpet, and proclaim a firecross to an hereditary and perpetual civil war? Thus much against the subjects' liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spared supremacy, or are likely hereafter to submit to it, remains lastly to be considered.

"But what do I stand reckoning upon advantages and gains lost by the misrule and turbulency of the prelates? What do I pick up so thriftily their scatterings and diminishings of the meaner subject, whilst they by their seditious practices have endangered to lose the king one third of his main stock?—

What have they not done to banish him from his own native country? But to speak of this as it ought, would ask a volume by itself.

"Thus as they unpeople the kingdom by expulsion of so many thousands, as they have endeavored to lay the skirts of it bare by disheartening and dishoncring our loyalest confederates abroad, so have they hamstrung the valor of the subject by seeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wise nation, that their liberty consists in manly and honest labors, in sobriety and rigorous honor to the marriage-bed, which in both sexes should be bred up from chaste hopes to loyal enjoyments; and when the people slacken, and fail to looseness and riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their necks for some wild tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt Cyrus to tame the Lydians, whom by arms he could not whilst they kept themselves from luxury; with one easy proclamation to set up stews, dancing, feasting, and dicing, he made them soon his slaves. I know not what drift the prelates had, whose brokers they were to prepare and supply us either for a foreign invasion or domestic oppression: but this I am sure, they took the ready way to despoil us both of manhood and grace at once, and that in the shamefullest and ungodliest manner, upon that day which God's law, and even our own reason hath consecrated, that we might have one day at least of seven set apart wherein to examine and increase our knowledge of God, to meditate and commune of

our faith, our hope, our eternal city in heaven, and to quicken withal the study and exercise of charity; at such a time that men should be plucked from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the church, instigated by public edict, and with earnest endeavor pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing is a horror to think! Thus did the reprobate hireling priest Balaam seek to subdue the Israelites to Moab, if not by force, then by this devilish policy, to draw them from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-peor. Thus have they trespassed not only against the monarchy of England, but of Heaven also, as others, I doubt not, can prosecute against them.

"Amongst many secondary and accessory causes that support monarchy, these are not of least reckoning, though common to all other states; the love of the subjects, the multitude and valor of the people, and store of treasure. In all these things hath the kingdom been of late sore weakened, and chiefly by the prelates. First, let any man consider, that if any prince shall suffer under him a commission of authority to be exercised, till all the land groan and cry out, as against a whip of scorpions, whether this be not likely to lesson and keel the affections of the subject. Next, what numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians, have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide

ocean, and the savage deserts of *America*, could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops? O, sir, if we could but see the shape of our dear mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity because their conscience could not assent to things which the bishops thought indifferent? What more binding than conscience? What more free than indifferency? Cruel then must that indifferency needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience; merciless and inhuman that free choice and liberty that shall break asunder the bonds of religion! Let the astrologer be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to states: I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation (God turn the omen from us!) than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake Their native country. Now, whereas the only remedy and amends against the depopulation and thinness of a land within, is the borrowed strength of firm alliance from without, these priestly policies of theirs having thus exhausted our domestic forces, have gone the way also to leave us as naked of our firmest and faithfullest neighbors abroad, by disparaging and alienating from us all

protestant princes and commonwealths; who are not ignorant that our prelates, and as many as they can infect, account them no better than a sort of sacrilegious and puritanical rebels."

It is a popular, but erroneous impression that the early Puritans were not churchmen. The larger number of the incumbent bishops and dignitaries of Edward the sixth's time, were at heart papists, yielding an unwilling obedience to the protestant changes, and welcoming the increased vigour of papacy,—after the death of Edward the sixth,—under the bloody reign of Mary, the fearful and worldly policy of Elizabeth, and the bigotry of James. Cranmer, and his active protestant cotemporaries,advocated those more radical principles, which, in the subsequent reigns were designated as puritanism. By them even John Knox was esteemed as a fellow-laborer. To Knox, Edward the sixth, with the full concurrence of his council, offered a bishopric—and to his influence Elizabeth was, in no small degree, indebted for the security of her throne, against the machinations of the adherents of Rome.

The puritans knew "that the best way to keep the popish rooks from returning, was to destroy their nests." They labored for those alterations and reforms, which Bonner, Gardiner, Laud—all men of like mind, differing only in opportunity—and those in sympathy with them hated ; and by opposing which, they hoped again to subject England to the dominion of the papal hierarchy. They and their

successors could stigmatize protestantism as puritanism.

Our New England puritans were churchmen. John Cotton, the great ecclesiastical father of New England, was a puritan churchman. Hutchinson,* in his Historical collections, has preserved Mr. Cotton's letter of resignation of the office of minister of the church in Boston, in Lincolnshire, which he filled more than twenty years—addressed "to the right-reverend and my very honorable good Lord, John Lord Bishop, of Lincoln, at his pallace in Kurkden." Then we have the declaration of "the Governour and the company, [of Massachusetts] *to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England*," from on board the Arbella, at Yarmouth, April 7, 1630,† clothed in eloquent and brotherly language. They said, "wee are not of those that dreame of perfection in this world; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the *Church of England*, from whence wee rise, our dear Mother, and cannot part from our native countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, wee have received in her besome, and suckt it from her breasts: wee leave it not therefore,

* Page 249.

† Hutch. Hist. Mass. 1, 487.

as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall alwayes rejoyce in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, syncerely desire and indeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the inlargement of bounds in the kingdome of Christ Jesus." It is not to be presumed that our Fathers had any special affection for Laud and his minions, nor is it singular that they, being driven from his territorial jurisdiction, should take all reasonable precautions to emancipate themselves from his ecclesiastical tyranny.

How complaisantly Laud exclaimed, "what clamours and slanders I have endured for laboring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God."* "'Tis not to be doubted," says that sycophant apologist, Monteith, "but that Archbishop Laud intended to grub up what he thought was the Tare of Puritanism from the Field of England." That royal lover of truth, Charles the First, the worthy master of so faithful a servant, said on the scaffold, "for the People, and truly, I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any Body whosoever; but I must tell you, that their Liberty and their Freedom consists in having of Government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them, a Subject and a Sovereign are

* Monteith's Hist. of Troubles of Great Britain, fol. 97, 192, 497.

clean different Things—I am the Martyr of the People."

Puritanism prevailed in Cornwall, Devon, Middlesex, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Norfolk, and other of the Eastern counties were imbued with hatred of papacy. The clergy of Lincolnshire were conspicuous for their opposition to the prelatical authority and intolerance.*

As the events of this period were of fearful import to our Fathers, and were to them things of life or death, the language — the very form and image of these acts—as they beheld them, must ever excite in our minds the most lively interests aud this is a sufficient reason for presenting a few instances of official acts in their own words. Archbishop Laud, in his report † to Charles First in 1635, says that the Bishop of Norwich "hath lately heard complaint of Mr. Warde of Ipswich for some *words uttered in sermons of his*, for which he is now called into the High Commission"—"the greatest part of Wiltshire is overgrown with the humors of these men that do not conform." "The town of Boston,‡ which was a great nursery for nonconformity, has become very orderly and settled to obedience, but the town of Lowth is still somewhat to blame." "At Reasworth in Hertfordshire and some other places, many

* Vaughan, 116, 369.

† Rymer's "Fœdera." Tom. xix. fol. 588–591.

‡ Rev. John Cotton fled from this town in 1633.

gad from their own churches by troops after the Ministers, which is a common Fault in the South parts of that diocese, where the people are said to be very giddy in matters of Religion." My Lord Bishop of Winchester "returns to me there are divers obstinate Recussants in those parts, which I presume are certified to your Majestie's Judges according to Law." Of Laud's fiendish cruelty and inhumanity the histories of that period contain abundant evidence.

Rushworth, in his Historical Collections, furnishes the following interesting documents.

13. Caroli. April 1637. At this time it was endeavored to block up the passage of those voluntary Exiles that were willing to go to another part of the World; where, as they said, they might not meet with such disturbances as they had here in *England*, from the Ecclesiastical Courts. Here followeth the Proclamation prohibiting their Exportation.

The King being informed, that great numbers of his Subjects were yearly transported into those parts of America, which have been granted by Patent to several persons, and there settle themselves with their Families, and whole Estates, amongst whom were many idle and refractory humors, whose only or principle End is to live without the reach of Authority; did Command his Officers, and Ministers of the Ports, not to suffer any Persons, being Subsidy Men, or of their Value, to pass to any of those plantations, without a license from his Majesties Commis-

sioners for Plantations first obtained ; nor any under the degree of Subsidy Men, without a certificate from the Justices of the Peace where they lived, that they have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and a testimony from the Minister of the Parish of their conformity to the Orders and Discipline of the Church of England.

May 1, 1638. The Privy-Council made another Order for Reasons importing the State best known to themselves, 'That the Lord Treasurer of England shall take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships now in the River of *Thames*, prepared to go for *New-England*, and shall likewise give order for the putting on Land all the Passengers and Provisions therein intended for that Voyage, and some days after His Majesty and the Board, taking into consideration the frequent Resort into New-England of divers persons ill affected* to the Religion Established in the Church of *England*, and to the good and peaceable government of this State.—However, upon the humble Petition of the Merchants, Passengers, and Owners of Ships now bound for *New-England*, and upon the Persons by them represented to the Board, His Majesty was graciously pleased at this time to free them from a late Restraint, and to set them at liberty to proceed on their intended Voyage. Nevertheless His Majesty well knowing the factious

* Rushworth's Hist. Coll. Part II. p. 408–9.

disposition of the People (for a great part of them) in that Plantation, and how unfit and unworthy they are of any Support or Countenance from hence, in respect of the great Disorders and want of Government amongst them; whereof sundry and great Complaints have bin presented to the Board, and made appear to be true, by those that being well-affected, both for Religion and Government, have suffered much loss in their Estates by the Unruly Factious Party did think fit and Order, That Mr. Attorney General shall forthwith draw up a Proclamation, expressing his Majesty's Royal Pleasure to prohibit all Merchants, Masters and Owners of Ships from henceforth to set forth any Ship, or Ships, with Passengers for *New-England*, till they first obtained special Licence on that behalf, from such of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy-Council as are appointed for the business of Foreign Plantations by special Commission."*

According to this Order of the Council a Proclamation issued forth, And upon the same grounds and reasons the Passage to the Summer Islands was barred by this Order of Council:

Whereas it is observed, that such *Ministers who are unconformable* to the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, have and do frequently *transport themselves* to the *Summer Islands* and other His Majesties Plantations abroad, where they take liber-

* Rushworth's Hist. Coll. Part II. p. 718.

ty to nourish and preserve their factions *Schismatical humors*, to the Seducing and abusing of his Majestie's Subjects, and the hindrance of that good Conformity and Unity in the Church which His Majesty is careful and desirous to Establish throughout his Dominions — We are therefore in His Majesties Name, and by His Express Command, to pray and require your Lordship to take present and strict orders that no *Clergyman* be henceforth suffered to go over into the Summer Isles, but such only as shall have approbation on that behalf from Our very good Lords, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London. And for all such of them as already gone thither without such approbation, that you cause them forthwith to be remanded back hither."

The severe censures in Star-Chamber, and the greatness of the Fines, and the Rigorous Proceedings to impose Ceremonies, the suspending and silencing Multitudes of Ministers, for not reading in the Church the Book of Sports to be exercised on the * Lord's day, caused many of the Nation, both Ministers and others, to sell their Estates, and to set sail for New-England, (a late Plantation in *America*,) where they hold a Plantation by Patent from the King."— *Rushworth's Hist. Coll.*, p. 410.

* The profanation of the Lord's day was a mark of Loyalty, and the keeping of it holy an act of disobedience —drunkenness and swearing were placed among venial sins, when compared with fasting and prayer.
[*Fulkland in Vaughan*, 371.

Oldmixon* says of this: "To avoid the *High Commission* and *Spiritual* Courts, many Hundred Families, sober and industrious People, removed to the *English* Plantations in *America*. It could not but be a horrid Scandal to a Government to see its best Subjects chuse to leave their dear Country, their Dwellings and Trades, and wander with their Wives and Children in those distant Wildernesses, rather than continue exposed to the Tyranny of those mercenary Courts. One cannot think it was out of care of the publick Good, that a Proclamation was published to prohibit their transporting themselves and block up the passage of those voluntary Exiles, who were willing to go to another Part of the World, where, as they said, they might not meet with such Disturbance as they had met with here in *England* from Ecclesiastical Courts. What *Echard* quotes out of the Proclamation is not the less absurd and ridiculous for the Place from whence he took it. *Because of the many idle and refractory thousands, whose only or principal End is to live without the Reach of Government.* False as the rest. They were the most quiet, industrious People in the Kingdom, which every one knew they left with bleeding Hearts purely for Conscience sake to enjoy the Purity and Freedom of their Religion, which the Reverend Historian terms a Humour. Thus with him Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Bates*,

* History of the Stuarts. London, 1730. Vol. I. fol. 131.

Dr. *Wincup*, Dr. *Gilpin*, Dr. *Collings*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Annesley*, Dr. *Arthur*, and thousands more, who were professedly of the same Religion with these Refugees, were *humorous Fellows*. 'Tis not deny'd but that *Laud*, *Wren*, *Pierce*, and such Prelates, made these conscientious Christians so uneasy at home, that they ran the greatest Risks of Life, Health, and Living to avoid them. Had Care of the State been in Question, a Check upon that Tyranny which is called Authority in the Proclamation, would have given them immediate Ease, and the Loss of so many useful families have been prevented. But such Christian Compliance, so agreeable to charitable and benevolent Minds, was not to be expected from the Ministry at that time, nor from their Master. *Larrey* tells us, *the persecuted Protestants crowded the Sea Ports to get over to America*. There was a *Tribe* of them, says *Echard*, with more Contempt than becomes him. This *Tribe* is now [1730] the populous and opulent Colony of New England. He adds, *They cast off all Subjection to the English Church*; * by which he means

* "Here we must not omit so fair an opportunity to do Homage to the merit of those Pious and learned Doctors of our National Church, who at this Time preserved its Purity, amidst *Laud's* Innovations and Superstitions, who bore their testimony against his Severity, and who were zealous for a thorough reformation: for wherever we mention Archbishop *Laud*, and such Ecclesiasticks as the Majority of his Convocation consisted of, we do never intend the Church of England, as it was reformed in King Edward the VIth's reign, and as it is now

they conform'd to the Profession and Practice of all the *Reform'd* Churches in Christendom, both in Faith, Worship and Discipline." He adds, "The next Truth is extorted from Mr. *Echard: The Puritans were generally free from outward Scandal*, which is followed by a Reflection so Vulgar and so puerile that it is a Shame to repeat it, *except some Particulars in Commerce.* At Billingsgate the saying among the Fishery is, the *Presbyterians* will not *swear*, but they'll *cheat. Billingsgate* is not the worst Place from whence he fetches his Wit and his Raillery. The *Puritans* would not *whore*, but they would *cozen;* and sure those who wou'd whore, drink, swear and profane the Sabbath, us'd a great deal of Conscience as to cheating, when it lay in their way; which it did not do so often as in that of the Puritans, who had above nine Parts in ten of the Trade of the Nation."

Before publishing the Apostle Eliot's concise memoir of the Colonists of Roxbury—still existing, in his peculiarly neat, round, feminine autograph, in the Records of "the first church," the following passage from Forster's eloquent and able "Lives of the Statesmen of the *Commonwealth* of England"* is introduced, further, to indicate the general character of those who planted this Commonwealth, and also to exam-

[1730] in his Present Majesty King George's; but Laud's church, as it was corrupted in Charles 1st's reign."—fol. 148.

* New York Edition, 1846, p. 161.

ine, briefly, the grounds on which the *historical statement* that Cromwell and his most distinguished associates did seriously contemplate a removal to New England, is, of late, so confidently denied. Mr. Forster having investigated the authorities and circumstances pronounces it "utterly incredible and supported by no worthy evidence,"* but he fails to convince us of the justice of his conclusion, for reasons, which—having given the quotation—we shall state as concisely as possible. The passage occurs in the life of John Pym.

"What wonder if, in the midst of all this frightful despotism over the property and consciences of men, large numbers of the English people now sent their thoughts across the wide Atlantic towards the New World that had risen beyond its waters! Such were the gloomy apprehensions and terrors with which the Old World was filled, that only two alternatives indeed now seemed to many persons to remain; that as May expresses it † "Things carried so far on in a wrong way must needs either enslave themselves and posperity forever, or require a vindication so sharp and smarting as that the nation would groan under it." Too weak‡ to contemplate the last alternative, and too

* p. 409. † History of the Long Parliament, p. 17.

‡ Action, courage, decision, distinguished the Founders of New England, not less than the Republicans of old England, while circumstances developed in the former the most heroic endurance and resignation. The passive virtues most severely test men's souls. The rack requires more courage than the battle field.

virtuous to submit to the first, crowds of victims to the tyranny of Church and States now accordingly left their homes and their country, willing to encounter any sufferings, privations, and dangers in the distant wilderness they sought, because of the one sole hope they had, that there, at least, would be found some rest and refuge for liberty,* for religion, for humanity! So extensive, however did the emigration threaten to become, that Laud thought it necessary to interfere at last, and—with a refinement of tyranny of which, it has been truly said, the annals of persecution afford few equally strong examples—to seek to deprive the conscientious sufferers of that last and most melancholy of all resources a rude, and distant and perpetual exile. On the first of May, 1638, eight ships bound for New England, and filled with Puritan families, were arrested in the Thames by an † order in council. *It has been a very popular 'rumor of history,' that among the passengers in one of those vessels were Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, and Hazelrig.*

* Our Fathers came, avowedly, for their *own* liberty to escape popery and its shadows! In their youthful body-politic, toleration would have been suicidal—on either hand were rival and hostile colonies—Laud had his emissaries here, and their safety depended on the exclusion of others. They uniformly refused to admit others—but in the days of their strength and manhood they did and could safely open the door to all the world. The PURITAN INDEPENDENTS were the FATHERS OF TOLERATION. Hutchinson's History, I, 82.

† It is published on p. 133.

Were this anecdote authentic, the hand of fate had been visible upon Charles indeed! *But there is no good authority for it, and it is deficient in all the moral evidences of truth.* The mind cannot bring itself to imagine the *spirits of such men as these yielding so easily to the despair of country;* and at this moment Hampden was the "argument of all tongues" for his resistance to ship-money, while to Pym the vision of the fatal meeting to which he had summoned Wentworth now became more and more distinct. Nor are we wanting of *absolute circumstances of proof, obvious enough to me, of the utter incorrectness of the statement.* In the same part of Rushworth's Collections where the original matter is to be found, a subsequent proclamation may be seen also, wherein, after stating the seizure of the ships, the following passage occurs: "Howbeit, upon the humble petition of the merchants, *passengers*, and owners of the ships now bound for New England and upon the reasons by them represented to the board, his majesty was graciously pleased to free them from their late restraint, to proceed in their intended voyage." So that in fact, there is *no reason for supposing that* ALL *who had embarked for New England on board the eight ships alluded to did not proceed to New England. No doubt they did so.*" "The only known authorities are Dr. George Bates, and Dugdale, both *zealous* Royalists, and, *on this point, quite beneath consideration.*"

The above is, literally, I believe, all the argument

and evidence which Mr. Forster adduces against the "anecdote," save this reference to it in the life of Cromwell. "I do not pause to tell the reader that the idea of Cromwell himself having entertained the notion of leaving England to seek a safer home in America *is utterly incredible, and supported by no worthy evidence.* Elsewhere in the lives, it has been refuted," [as above quoted entire]. "I have *shown the worthlessness of the authority on which this story rests;* and also, if it depends on the actual occurrence of the ships having been stopped by an order of council, the patriots *ought to have left* after all, for the embargo was speedily taken off the ships, and *they* left with all their passengers..... Such was not the cast of Cromwell's mind or temper. To leave England, where everything heaved with the anticipation of such a future—when the name of Hampden filled all mouths, and his quiet attitude of immovable resolution during the great trial of ship-money had made grateful all hearts—when the harvest of what had been sown by suffering approached to be reaped in triumph—nay, when the very corn was ripe and only waiting for the glancing sickle! *The bare thought is of ridiculous unlikelihood.*"

Forster's emphatic and zealous denials of this—to us New Englanders—interesting incident, indicates the *advocate* than the historian and a *feeling* in relation to it the reason of which is not apparent. It may be presumed that he has collected and sifted all the arguments and authorities bearing on the question

and I propose a re-examination of them, which may lead the reader to credit the "anecdote" as a *veritable historical fact.* I will first prove the popular enthusiasm in England, respecting America at that time.

The Rev. Mr. Garrard, a newsmonger, wrote to the Earl of Strafford, about him who became Governor of Massachusetts, "Mr. Comptroller Sir Henry Vane's eldest son hath left his father, his mother, *his country, and that fortune which his father would have left him here*, and is for conscience' sake gone into New England, *there to lead the rest of his days*, being about twenty years of age. He had abstained two years from taking the sacrament in England, because he could get nobody to administer it to him standing. He was bred up at Leyden, and I hear that Sir Nathaniel Rich and Mr. Pym *have done him hurt in their persuasions this way.* God forgive them for it if they be guilty!" Forster in his life of Sir Henry Vane, thus vividly pictures the public mind at that day—the reader's particular attention is requested to the passages in italics—"America then stood forward to the imaginations of the enthusiastic and the young, no less than to the oppressed consciences of worn and persecuted men, in the light of a promised land. The progress of her colonization had excited the utmost interest and curiosity throughout Europe; the fortunes of her first emigrants glimmering back into the world they had left, through the infinite wilderness and over the vast and dismal

ocean, which now divided them from it, were strained after by their friends with painful earnestness and wonder; and, at each successive ship that left with pilgrim passengers to her shores, the admiration and amazement of men increased, that *not of the poor, the unfortunate, or the lowly, were these voluntary exiles*, but rather, in the *majority* [?] of instances, *the most refined and accomplished examples of the civilization of the age. Not alone the scholar and the philosopher, but the wealthy, the high born, and the nobly bred were thus seen willingly abandoning the classic quiet, the splendor, the refinement of their homes*, urged and sustained by *those grand designs and hopes* which having told them that mankind were born for a *better system of government* and a *purer shape of society than existed in the Old World*, now pointed out to them *an opportunity of testing these exalted aspirations in the new and strange lands* which had started up so suddenly beyond the vast and dismal ocean. The work, thus begun by pure philanthropists, was carried out to an extraordinary extent by Laud's terrible system of Church government; and for many months before Vane so suddenly passed his resolution of exile, successive multitudes of sufferers for conscience' sake had been driven from their native country to take refuge in New England, as the last home that was left for religion or for liberty." *

* New York edition, p. 267.

In strange contrast and proximity with his opinion that the anecdote "is deficient in all the moral evidences of truth," he adds, "it is not without ground of a certain kind. Some years before its date the attention of *the leading men among the patriots* had been *strongly* directed to the subject of the Colonization of part of the North American Continent, *with a view to its affording a refuge of safety and comfort to such of their party, or their families, as the sad troubles, which impended over England, might force them from their homes.*" The subject had occupied even Sir John Eliot's thoughts in his prison, as a passage from one of Hampden's letters to him may serve to show. "The paper of consideration concerning the Plantation might be very safely conveyed to me, by this hand, and after transcribing, should be as safely returned, if you vouchsafe to send it to me." The result of all this consideration of the subject was the purchase of a large grant of land in the name of Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele; and in 1635, according to Horace Walpole, these two Lords "sent over Mr. George Fenwick to prepare *a retreat for them and their friends*, in consequence of which a little town was built and called by their joint names Saybrooke." Now, in this scheme, there can be little doubt that Hampden was concerned; and I have found certain evidence, in Garrard's letters to Lord Stafford, that Pym was a party to it. "Our East India Company," writes that indefatigable

newsmonger, "have this week two ships come home, which, a little, revives them. The traders also into the Isle of Providence, who are the Earl of Warwick, the lord Say, the lord Mandeville, the lord Brooke, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Mr. Pym, and others, have taken a prize, sent home, worth £15,000, by virtue of letters of marque, granted to the planters there, by his majesty, for some injuries done them by the Spaniards." The date of this letter is December, 1637; and from that date, as the prospects of the court darkened, the hopes of Pym and Hampden must have grown with the passage of every day. Thus Foster, himself, affords a strong argument for the moral probability of the anecdote, arising from the general current of the public thought, "and of the leading men among the patriots." Hutchinson,* one of the most cautious and accurate writers, having mentioned Vane, Peters,—afterward noted in the civil wars,—and others, thus refers to this incident: "many other persons of figure and distinction were expected to come over, some of which are said to have been prevented by special order of the king, as Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Oliver Cromwell, &c. I know," he says, "this is questioned by some authors, but it appears plainly, by a letter from lord Say and Seale to Mr. Vane, and a letter from Mr. Cotton," one of their most celebrated

* Hist. of Mass., I, 44, 45, 433, 116.

scholars and divines, "to the same nobleman, as I take it, though his name is not mentioned, and an answer to certain demands made by him, that his Lordship himself and Lord Brooke and others were not without thought of removing to New England, and that several other persons were in treaty about their removal also, but undetermined whether to join the Massachusetts or to settle a colony. . . . . The answer made to the demands seems not to have been satisfactory; for these Lords and gentlemen soon after again turned their thoughts to Connecticut, where they were expected to arrive every year until after 1640.*

Their lands in New Hampshire were not alienated till April 14, 1641, † and their second purchase in Connecticut, was not sold till December 5, 1644, ‡ when their agent, Mr. Fenwick, conveyed it to the colonists. It is a fair inferance that their design of emigration was not *wholly* abandoned until that date.

Now what are Mr. Foster's vaunted, "absolute circumstances of proof, obvious enough to me, of the utter incorrectness of the statement." Simply this one lone fact, that not long after the first of May, 1638—the date of the arrest—"upon the humble

* Bancroft's Hist. United States, I, 411.

† Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, 17, 30.

‡ Hutchinson's Mass. I, 97. Col. Rec. of Connecticut, 31, 119.

petition of the merchants, *passengers*, and owners of the ships now bound to New England, and upon the reasons by them presented to the board, his majesty was graciously pleased *to release them from their late restraint*, to proceed in their intended voyage." It was reported in New England that summer, probably by some of that company, that one of the reasons represented to the board, "was the great damage it would be to the Commonwealth in hindering the Newfoundland trade, and that near all the lords of the council did favor this plantation, and that "they were amazed to see men of all conditions offering themselves so readily for New England.* This feeble, uncertain ray of light, is all that has reached us, struggling through the obscurity of these two centuries, from that fleet of eight ships in the Thames, ready to bear away some of the best and noblest of England's sons. It had been well for Laud, the bloody mutilator of Burton, Prynne, Silbourne, Leighton, and others, the recreant Wentworth, the false, infatuated Charles, had they not detained the avengers of England's wrongs, and the vindicators of liberty. The unseen hand of God was there.

Miss Aiken, to whom Foster and Bancroft are indebted for their doubt in this matter, cites the "re-

* Winthrop's Hist. of Mass., I, 266.

† Life and Times of Charles I., I, 472, 473. London edition.

lease from their late restraint," "from which," she infers, "it is plain that *all* who had embarked for New England on board those ships, must actually have proceeded thither,"—*non sequitur.* Certainly, the king's *license to depart* is no evidence of their *departure*, much less that "*all* must have proceeded;" Bancroft* adopts the *argument!* and cites Winthrop † as "decisive," that "the *whole* company, as it seems, *without diminution*, arrived safely in the Bay of Massachusetts," but that author wholly fails to justify, or to *seem* to justify the assertion. On the contrary, his learned and accurate editor entertains no doubt of the incident in question, as plainly appears by his note, that many of high rank and fortune had designs of coming to this country, "in which most of them were prevented by the government, that had good reason, afterward, says Hume, to repent of such exercise of authority." Hume examined the evidence carefully and says that Hutchinson "puts the fact beyond all controversy," by conclusive *corroborative* evidence. Miss Aiken referring to the emigration schemes of Lord Brooke and his associates writes, "they finally abandoned the whole design and sold the land—this termination appears to have taken place about 1636, during the dependence of the great cause of ship money," and relies upon this supposed date of

* Hist. United States, I, 411, 412.

† Hist. of Mass. Bay, I, 266, 172.

abandonment, two years prior to the Thames incident, as a presumption against its truth, but this is an error, as it has already appeared that the "abandonment" did not occur till some years subsequently to 1638, when their agent finally returned to England.

Miss Aiken's * remaining consideration against the story is that "so stirring an incident is not even hinted at by any contemporary account;" a singular statement, showing a superficial examination of the authorities. Neal relates the story, saying, "if we may believe Dr. George Bates and Mr. Dugdale, † *two famous royalists.*" Forster calls them "both zealous royalists, and on this point quite beneath consideration," and "worthless," but without showing the reason of this denunciation; Bancroft calls them "royalists writing on hearsay."

Only two original authorities being cited, and they receiving such plentiful abuse as, "royalists writing on hearsay," "unworthy of credit," "on this point, quite beneath consideration," with more generalities

* Mr. Alexander Young (Chron. Mass. 315,) says, "Miss Aiken was the *first* to detect and expose this error of the historians;" but Hutchinson, in 1760, wrote, "I know this is questioned by some authors." Why did not Mr. Alexander Young refer to Mr. Bancroft's full examination of this fact, and his copious citations of all the authorities?

† Hist. of the Puritans, II, 316, 481, and the index says, "Oliver Cromwell designs to go to New England."

of a like nature, from some few who would fain deprive the anecdote of a reputable parentage,—the case requires some account of them, whether they be so mendacious, so credulous, or so partisan, as to deserve such uncharitable epithets, or whether they be well-informed, respectable, and trustworthy gentlemen. Bancroft cites "Bates and Dugdale in Neal's Puritans," which shows that he did not consult the originals, but relies wholly on Neal, who does not so speak of them. The charge is a mere invention of Bancroft's.

I will here premise that not one of the writers denies that these two authors do record the incident in question.

George Bates * received his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1637, was principal physician to Charles I. when at Oxford, to Oliver Cromwell the Protector, and to Charles II. He practised chiefly among the puritans, with whom he was identified. He was not a politician, but eminent as a physician and man of science, being the author of some learned works in Latin. His political interests or feelings were never sufficiently important or intense to justify the belief that he would *invent* a story like this, and it is difficult to perceive what he could gain by so frivolous a fiction. His profession gave him eminent and unavoidable opportunities of learning the minute details and familiar thoughts of individual life. What more

* Lived 1603—1669.

probable than that he might learn of so singular an incident in Cromwell's life, from the lips of the Protector himself. His familiar and confidential intercourse with the puritans, incidental to his medical practice, necessarily gave him an intimate acquaintance with their designs and movements, at about this time, 1638, when the puritans were in the very "winter of their discontent," and New England was the land of promise and peace to oppressed consciences,—at this very time, I say, he was in the full tide of professional success, almost exclusively confined to the puritan party. Could any one have had better opportunity of knowing the truth of the matter in question? He published his history, "Elenchus," in 1649 and 1660, while the facts were fresh and certain in his mind. Certainly it must be very strong rebutting testimony to discredit such a witness.

Sir William Dugdale,* the eminent antiquary, was in London in 1638. As an antiquary, herald, and biographer, this incident was one of a class which he would seize and record with avidity. His great works are merely accumulations of facts, details of like nature, and his studies were of a character to produce caution and incredulity and not the lazy adoption of mere rumor. He stands one of the first among the authorities in English history. The suggestion of any collusion by such writers, though

* Lived 1605—1686.

inimical to Cromwell, upon so trivial a matter is absurd. So that the incident has the authority of two independent, cotemporary, distinguished persons, engaged in very different pursuits, likely to know of the incident, from different sources, and without any inducement to the petty forgeries, or disingenuousness virtually charged upon them; but for the gravity of Forster and Bancroft, it would be beneath notice. Designed coincidence in narrating an occurrence so unimportant, is cousin-german to an imposibility.

Lord Nugent in his life of Hampden,* makes no boastful display of learning, but indicates a most elaborate and philosophical investigation, by a mind thoroughly appreciating the cotemporary spirit and feeling, and writes, "Again the hopes of the country party almost died within them. Had it not been for a fresh act of cruel and unwise compulsion, which bereft the persecuted Puritans of the power of leaving to Charles, by their flight, an undisputed triumph over law and liberty, the whole struggle in this country would have been abandoned, at least, by that generation, in despair." Lord Say, the Lord Brooke and Hampden, "had from their boyhood, lived together as brothers, and the ties of their affection had been straightened by a close and constant agreement in publick life. To this wild and distant settlement [Connecticut] they had determined to retreat, in failure of their efforts for justice and peace at home, aud they were, jointly, to become the founders of a

* Vol. 1, 250—5.

patriarchal community." "The immediate effect of this monstrous edict [of May 1, 1638] is rendered remarkable by an event which has thrown over the whole an air of strange fatality." "In one of these [ships] had actually embarked for their voyage across the Atlantic, two no less considerable persons than John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell; the latter then little distinguished except for an opposition, with great spirit and ability, in his native county of Huntingdon, against the project of the Bedford level." "Thus, in the alternative between flight and resistance, the Government, as it were, bound down these eminent men to an opposite condition to that which they had chosen for themselves. Pride, character, and obligation to party and to principle, pledged them, so long as they should inhabit the country of their birth, to pursue the course they had begun.—Hampden and Cromwell remained; to act, probably, with very different views, certainly in very different circumstances."

This is a sufficient vindication of the "anecdote" to our belief in the absence of any original contradicting authority, and none can be cited.

There remain a few general objections urged against the story, which I will briefly notice—as, "the mind cannot bring itself to imagine the spirits of such men as these, yielding so easily to the despair of country"—"to Pym the *vision* of the fatal meeting to which he had summoned Wentworth now became daily more and more distinct." "To seek

a safer home in America, was not the cast of Cromwell's mind or temper. To leave England, where everything heaved with the *anticipation* of *such a future!*" * "there are no circumstances in the lives of Hampden or Cromwell corroborating the story, but many to establish its improbability." "The pretended design was indeed unlike to Hampden," † &c.

Oliver Cromwell, ‡ poor by five years farming at St. Ives, *eminently* pious, and *notorious* for his steadfast "aid and comfort" to the heroic clergy, in their *passive* and *now* lauded resistance to the tyrannical laws of the established hierarchy, received, in 1635, a competency by virtue of his Uncle, Sir Thomas Steward's will, removed to Ely, where, as he told his own parliament in 1654, he lived "neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity," and was, according to his professed eulogist, Carlyle, "a most private and quiet man," until the king interfered with the draining of the Bedford fens, early in 1639, when he *awoke* to *his* labors,—which will not end till September 3, 1658, with all his earthly duties,—by his noisy activity at the head of the "Bedford level" faction, became "well known to his friend and kinsman Hampden," as "one that would sit well at the mark," and by his popularity

* Foster's Statesman. New York Ed. 161, 409, 410.

† Bancroft's Hist. U. States, 1, 411, 412.

‡ Lived 1599—1658.

as "Lord of the Fens," was, in November, 1640, elected to Parliament from Cambridge, by the majority of a single vote. *It is said* that his opponent, the Poet Cleveland, exclaimed, "that vote, that single vote hath ruined both Church and Kingdom." Thus it appears that at the date of the order, May, 1638, Cromwell had nothing to suggest the prophetic "vision" with which Forster would clothe him and Hampden,* for then he was "a most private, quiet man." Cromwell was a rhapsodist, but not a visionary, and I can see at the time of the order, no "improbability," "unlikelihood," or "absurdity," in his alleged embarkation for New England.

His own words afford cumulative and irresistible evidence, that can leave no rational doubt of its truth. In his auto-biographical speech of 1654, before quoted, he said "all the money of this nation would not have tempted men on such an account as they have been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of Liberty better than Episcopacy granted them, or than would have been afforded by a Scott Presbytery,—or an English, either, if it had made such steps, and been as sharp and rigid as it threatened when first set up. This, I say, is Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be any absoluteness in the Imposer, without fitting allowance and exceptions from the rules, we shall have the people driven into the

* Lived 1594—1643.

wilderness. As they were, when those poor and afflicted people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, were necessitated, for enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England; where they have, for Liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their Comfort; embracing rather loss of friends and want than to be so ensnared and in bondage."

Presbyterianism designed bloody intolerance, but its strength was palsied by the iron will of Cromwell. It was the vigilant, restless foe of the Commonwealth, and to it Royalty was mainly indebted for its restoration. Its spirit (not its power) lived in the famous Acts of Uniformity of 1662, fitly born on the black anniversary of St. Bartholomew's day. Cromwell was an Independent, — *Independency planted New England*, and here he ever found most cordial support and sympathy. He watched its settlement, its progress, and would fain have joined in its fortunes, but God *willed otherwise.*

Hampden was "constantly in communion with his friend and cousin, Oliver Cromwell," when the test question, the famous "Remonstrance," was passed by a small majority, 22d November, 1640, after the longest and stormiest debate ever yet known in Parliament. Hampden immediately moved to have it *printed*, a publicity of state affairs till then inconceivable to the boldest man. It was on this occasion, after three o'clock in the morning, coming

down stairs, as the members were hurrying out of the House, that Lord Falkland asked Cromwell whether there had been a debate. To which he answered, he would take his word another time; and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, "that if the remonstrance had been rejected, *he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never would have seen England more; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution.*" "So near," adds Clarendon, "was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance." Yes, and God forbade! as he had done once before, in May, 1638, when the hearts of Charles and his evil genius, Laud, were "hardened, neither would they let them go out of his land," like Pharoah of old.

At this moment Cromwell was merely Hampden's lieutenant, and this declaration that he knew "many other honest men of the same resolution," was doubtless the passionate disclosure of a scheme long familiar to their minds, and the execution of which they had thrown on the triumph or overthrow of *this* great struggle in Parliament. It improbable that they anticipated the terrific commotions which so fast thickened upon them. It is notable that their thoughts of emigration were not wholly abandoned till after Hampden's * death, in 1643.

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* Perhaps Hampden had actually visited New England in 1622–3. See curious note to New York edition of Forster's Statesmen, &c. p. 246.

Of this school in politics and religion were the Founders of New England: men of truth, of strong minds, of dauntless spirit and inflexible temper; of such were those whose names are preserved in the Apostle Eliot's

Record of the Fathers of Roxbury.

The arrangement of the names in the *Mss.*, indicates a design to have given concise notices of each—for instance, half of the page is left blank under Gov. Dudley's name, and so with many others. A few notes will be appended, but most of the names may be found in the local histories, now so rapidly increasing, and to them, with Hutchinson, Winthrop, the Probate offices and other places of deposite of original authorities, the inquirer will properly refer. Thus it begins:

"A recorde of such as adjoyned themselves unto the
fellowship of this Church of Christ at
Roxborough: as also of such children
as they had when they joyned, & of
such as were borne vnto them
vnder the holy Covenant of
this Church, who are
most prperly the
Seede of this
Church.

"Mr. William Pinchon came in the first company in 1630 ;—he was one of the first foundation of the Church at Roxborough—was chosen an Assistant yearely so long as he lived amoung us: his wife dyed soone after he landed at N. Eng : he brought 4 children to N. E. : Ann, Mary, John, Margret. After some years he married Mris. Frances Samford, a grave matron of the Church at Dorchester. When so many removed from these parts to Plant Conecticot river, he also wth othr company went thithr and planted at a place called Agawam, and was recommended to the Church at Windsor on Conecticott,untill such time as it should please God to prvide yt they might enter into Church estate among themselves : his daughter Ann, was married to Mr. Smith sonne to Mrs. Samford by a former husband, he was a godly, wise young man, and removed to Agawam with his parents ; his daughter Mary was married to Mr. Hollioke, the sonne of Mr. Hollioke, of Linn, Mr. Pinchon's ancient friend.

Afterwards he wrote a Dialogue concerning Justification, wch was Printed anno 1650, stiled The meritorious Price, a book full of error and weaknes & some heresies, wch the Generall Court of ye Massachusetts condemned to be burnt, and appointed Mr. John Norton the Teacher at Ipswich, to refute ye errors contained therein."

Mr. Thomas Welde,—[was *not* the author of "A Short Story of the Rise," &c. of the "*Antinomians*;" Gov. Winthrop is entitled to the credit of

that performance—for an account of Mr. Weld, see Mr. Alexander Young—Chronicles of Mass. 511. n.]

William Dennison,—he brought 3 children to N. E. all sons ; Daniel, Edward and George ; Daniel married at Newtowne, and was joyned to the Church there ; he afterwards removed to the Church at Ipswich ; [married Patience, d. of Gov. Thomas Dudley; was Major General of the Colony, &c.—Savage's Winthrop, II, 260, n.]

Thomas Lambe,—he came into this land in the yeare 1630 ; he brought his wife & 2 children, Thomas and John ; Samuel, his 3d son, was borne about the 6th month of the same yeare 1630, and baptized in the Church at Dorchester. Abel, his 4th son, was borne about the 5th month, 1633, in Rocksbury. Decline, his first daughter, was borne in the 2d month, 1637. Benjamin, his 6th child, was borne about the 8th month, 1639, of wch child his wife died and the child lived but few hours. He afterwards married Dorothy Harbitle, a godly maide, a sister of our church : Caleb, his first borne by her, and his 7th child, was borne about the middle of the 2d month, 1641.

"Sammuell Wakeman,—he came to N. E. in the 9th month, 1631. He buryed his only child at sea : he was one of the first foundation of the Church at Rocksbury. Elizabeth, his first borne here, was borne about ——, in the yeare." [Savage's Winthrop, ii, 33, n. 2, relates the manner of his death.]

WILLIAM PARKE,—he came to N. E. in the 12th month, 1630, a single man, and was one of the first in the church at Roxbrough; he afterwards married Martha Holgrave, the daughter of —— Holgrave of Salem, he married the — month.

THOMAS RAWLINGS,—he brought 5 children to this Land. Thomas, Mary, Joane, Nathaniell, John. He came with the first company: 1630. [Annals of Dorchester, p. 22.]

"ROBERT COLE,—he came with the first company, 1630." [*Sav. Winth. Index.*]

JOHN JOHNSON. ["1645. 2. 6.—John Johnson, the Surveyor General of the ammunition, a very industrious and faithful man in his place, having built a fair house in the midst of the town, [of Roxbury] with divers barns and other out houses: it fell on fire in the day time, (no one knowing by what occasion,) and there being seventeen barrels of the country's powder, and many arms, all was suddenly burnt and blown up, to the value of 400 or 500 pounds, wherein a special providence of God appeared, for being from home, the people came together to help, and many were in the house, no man thinking of the powder, till one of the company put them in mind of it, whereupon they all withdrew, and soon after the powder took fire and blew up all about it, and shook the houses in Boston and Cambridge, so as men thought it had been an earthquake, and carried great pieces of timber a great way off, and some rags and such light things beyond Boston meet-

ing house. There being then a stiff gale at South, it drove the fire from the other houses in the town, (for this was the most Northerly,) otherwise it had endangered the greatest part of the town. This loss of our powder was the more observable in two respects: 1. because the Court had not taken that care they ought, to pay for it, having been owing for divers years; 2. in that, at the Court before, they had refused to help our countrymen in Virginia, who had written to us some time for their defence against the Indians, and also to help our brethren of Plymouth in their want." *Winthrop*, ii. 211, *and Mr. Savage's note and index.*]

Robert Gamlin, *Senior.* [This *surname* was early in New Hampshire.]

Richard Lyman,—he came to N. E. in the 9th month, 1631. He brought children,—Phillis, Richard, Sarah; John. He was an ancient Christian, but weake, yet after some time of tryal & quickening, he joyned to the church; wn the great removal was made to Conecticot, he also went and underwent much affliction, for goeing toward winter, his cattle were lost in driving, and never were found againe; and the winter being could and ill prvided, he was sick and melancholly, yet after, he had some revivings, through God's mercy, and dyed in the yeare 1640. [A reputable family in Northampton, Mass.]

Jehu Bur.

William Chase,—he came in the first compa-

ny, 1630. He brought one child, his sonne William. He was much afflicted by the long and tedious affliction of his wife ; after his wife's recovery she bare him a daughter whm they named Mary, borne about the middle of the 3d month, 1637. He did after yt remove intending to Situate, but after went wth a company who maide a new plantation at Yarmouth.

RICHARD BUGBY.

GREGORIE BAXTER.*

FRANCIS SMITH.

JOHN PERRIE, [and wife Damerris in Newbury in 1651.--*Coffin*, 313.]

JOHN LEAVENS, he arrived at N. E. in the year 1632—his wife lay bedrid divers years—after she dyed, he married Rachel Write, a Godly maide, a membr of or church: John, his first borne, was borne the last the second month, Anno 1640.

Mris. MARGRET WELDE, the wife of Mr. Thomas Weld.

SARAH LYMAN, the wife of Richard Lyman.

[* He came in 1630, and settled in Roxbury; removed to Braintree about 1640, and died June 21, 1659—was a farmer—his wife Margaret died Feb. 13, 1662. Children : —

Bethia m. Samuel Dearing—she d. May 11, 1651.

Abigail m. Joseph Adams of Braintree, Nov. 29, 1650. He was a Maltster, and the ancester of John Adams, President of the United States.

John b. Dec. 1, 1639, m. Hannah, daughter of Thomas White of Weymouth, June 24, 1659.]

ELIZABETH LAMBE, the wife of Thomas Lambe.

Mr. RICHARD DUMMER.*

WILLIAM TALMAGE, [benefactor of the free school.]

JOHN CARMAN, he came to N. E. in the yeare 1631, he brought no children—his first borne John was borne the 8th of the 5th month, 1633: his daughter Abigail was borne in the 5th month, 1635—his third child Caleb was borne in the first of the first [or sixt] month, 1639.

ELIZABETH WAKEMAN, the wife of Samuel Wakeman.

BUR, the wife of Jehu Bur.

MARY COGGSHALL, the wife of John Coggshall.

JOHN WATSON, [m. Alice, widow of Valentine Prentise.]

MARGRET DENNISON, the wife of William Dennison. It pleased God to work upon her heart & change it in her ancient yeares, after she came to this Land; and joyned to the church in the yeare 1632.

MARY COLE, the wife of Robert Cole. God also

[* He came from Bishopstoke, England, in 1632 to Roxbury, thence to Newbury in 1636—m. Mrs. Frances Burr, his second wife—he d. Dec. 14, 1679, aged 88—she died 19 Nov. 1682, aged 70. Children—Shubael, b. 17 Feb. 1636. Jeremiah, 14 Sept. 1645. Hannah, 7 Nov. 1647. Richard, 13 Jan. 1650. William, 18 Jan. 1659. Jeremy, d. 25 May, 1718, at Boston, aged 72—his son Jeremy, the distinguished New England scholar and statesman, died at Plaistow, England, 19 May, 1739.—*Coffin's Hist. of Newbury*, 16, 33, 301, 392. *Winthrop*, II, 4. *Mr. Savage's note.*]

wrought upon her heart (as it was hoped after her coming to N. E. but after her husband's excommunication and fall, she did too much favor his ways, yet not so as to incur any just blame, she lived an . . . . . life by reason of his unsettledness and removing from place to place.

Thomas Woodforde, a man servant, he came to N. E. in the yeare 1632, and was joyned to the church about halfe a yeare after, he afterwards maryed Mary Blott and removed to Connecticut, and joyned to the church at Hartford.

Margery Hammond, a maide servant, she came to N. E. in the yeare 1632 and aboute halfe a yeare after, was joyned to the church: and after some yeares she was married to John Ruggls, of this church:

Mary Chase, the wife of William Chase. She had a paralytic humor . . . . . from the beginning to the end of which infirmity she lay 4 yeares and a halfe and a good part of the time a sad spectacle of misery: But it pleased God to raise her againe and she bore children after it.

John Coggeshall.

[Governor of Rhode Island. Savage's Winthrop, I. 130, n. 1.]

William Heath, he came to this Land in the yeare 1632, soone after joyned to the church. He brought 5 children, Mary, Isaak, Mary, Peleg, Hannah. Mary Heath the wife of William Heath.

Mary Heath, the wife of William Heath.

[The following extract relates, doubtless, to one of their descendants in Boston.

"Another Acquaintance was *Mr. Heath;* were I to write the Character of a Pious Merchant, I'd as soon take Heath for the Exemplar, as any Man I know. There are two things remarkable in him, one is, that he never warrants any Ware for good, but what is so indeed; and the other that he makes no advantages of his Chapman's Ignorance, *where the Conscience of the Seller is all the skill of the Buyer;* he doth not then so much ask, as order what he must pay; and in such cases he ought to be very Scrupulous. Bp. *Latimer* being told he was cozened in buying a Knife, no, replied Latimer, *he cozen'd not me, but his own Conscience.* This Person was my daily visitor, and brought me acquainted with one *Gore*, of *New York*, with whom I traded considerably."—*Dunton's Life and Errors*, page 130.]

William Curtis, he came to this land in the yeare 1632, and soone after joyned the church, he brought 4 children wth him, Thomas, Mary, John, Philip, and his eldest sonn William, came the yeare before, he was a hopefull scholler, but God tooke him in the end of the yeare 1634.

Sarah Curtis, the wife of William Curtis.

Thomas Offitt.

Offitt, the wife of Thomas Offitt.

Isaak Morrell.

Morrell, the wife of Isaak Morrell.

Daniell Brewer.

Brewer, the wife of Daniell Brewer.

Griffith Crafts.

Crafts, the wife of Griffith Crafts.

Mary Rawlings, the wife of Thomas Rawlings. She lived a godly life, & went through much weakness of body, and after five years when her husband had removed to Sittuate she dyed, about the yeare 1639.

Thomas Goldthwait.

Mr. John Eliot ; he came to N. E. in the 9th month 1631, he left his intended wife in England, to come the next yeare, he adjoyned to the church at Boston, and there exercised in the absence of Mr. Wilson the Pastor of yt church, who was gone back to England for his wife and family, the next summer Mr. Wilson returned and by yt time the church at Boston was intended to call him to office, his friends wr come over and settled in Rocksbrough, to whom he was foreingaged, yt if he were not called to office before they came, he was to joyne with them, whereupon the church at Rocksbrough called him to be Teacher in the end of yt summer and soone after he was ordained to yt office in the church.

Also his wife came along wth the rest of his friends the same time and soone after, their comeing, they were married, viz. in the 8th month 1632. *Hannah* his first borne daughter was borne the 17 day of the 7th month an. d. 1633. *John* his first borne sonne was borne in the 31 day of the 6th month an. d. 1636.

Joseph his 2d sonne was borne in the 20th day of the 10th month an. d. 1638.

Samuel his third sonne was born the 22d day of the 4th month An. d. 1641.

Aaron his 4th sonne was borne the 19 of the 12th An. d. 1643.

Benjamin his 3d sonne was borne the 29 of the 11th 1646. [A detailed account of the apostle's family will be given hereafter.]

Mrs. Ann Eliot, the wife of Mr. John Eliot. [Her maiden name was Mumford, perhaps a corruption of Mountfort,]

Mr. George Alcocke he came wth the first company Ano 1630, he left his only son [. . . . .] in England, his wife dyed soone after he came to this lande, when the people of Rocksbrough joyned to the church at Dorchester (vntil such time as God should give them oportunity to be a church among themselves) he was by the church chosen to be a Deacon . . . . to regard the brethren at Rocksbrough: And after he adjoyned himselfe to this church at Rocksbrough he was ordained a Deakon of this church: he made two voyages to England upon just calling thereunto wherein he had much experience of God's preservation and blessing. He brought over his son John Alcocke, he also brought over a wife by whom he had his 2d son Samuel borne in the year: he lived in a good and godly sort and dyed in the end of the 10th month Ano. 1640, and left a good favor behind him: the Poor of the church much bewailing his life.

VALENTINE PRENTISE he came to this land in the year 1631 and joyned to the church in the yeare 1632, he brought but one child to the land, his son John and buryed another at sea : he lived a godly life and went through much affliction by bodily infirmity and died leaving a good savor of godlyness behind him. [Probably of the *Nazing* brotherhood ; perhaps brother to Robert Prentice of Roxbury, who was "buried 3d; 12 mo. 1665," leaving an Estate of £174. 16. 5. settled by Capt. Thos. Prentice of Newton. His son John was admitted to Roxbury church, 24. 7. 1665, by Esther . . . . . he had children:

John, b. Aug. 6, 1652—bapt. 7. 29. 1667.

Joseph, b. Apr. 5. 1655.

Jonathan, b. July 15. 1657—d. 1727 ÆE 70. (Tomb stone, New London, Ct.)

Esther, b. July 20. 1660 ["Joseph, Jonathan, Peter, Steven, Esther, children to John Prentice baptd. 2. 19. 1668."—*Rox. Church Rec.*]

Peter, b. July 31. 1663.

Stephen, b. Nov. 26. 1666.

Mercy, b. 1668.

Hannah, b. June 1672

Thomas, b. Nov. 4. 1675. } Twins.
Elizabeth }

By a 2d wife, late in life he had Ralph, b. about 1687.

John Prentice was a skilful Blacksmith and was offered special privileges to settle in New London

Ct. which he did in 1651 or 2—6 or 7 years after its settlement. In 1644 "John Prentice of New London Ct was fined £5. for notching a colt's tail, (*Hinman's 1st Settlers of Ct.*) and at a general assembly held at Hartford Ct. Oct. 1644 "this Court abate John Prentice half his fine of £5 and he is to pay ten shillings for his petitions." (*Trumbull's Col. Rec. of Ct.*) Hartford was called Newtown until 1636.

There may have been one son of John born before he removed to New London. He probably visited Roxbury to have his children baptized as New London, tho' not destitute of a minister, had not a regularly ordained clergyman qualified to administer the ordinances until 1770; the first of John's children, baptized in New London, was Hannah in 1672. Some of the families in Mass. and Connt. have altered the name from *Prentice* to *Prentiss*. The descendants of John the "Smith" are numerous in Connt. Samuel Prentice who emigrated from Newton, Mass. and died in Stonington in 1727, has also many descendants.—*Mr. C. J. F. Binney's Mss.*]

Alice Prentise the wife of Valentine Prentise after her husband's death she was married to John Watson of this church.

Abraham Pratt.

Johannah Pratt the wife of Abraham Pratt.

Mris Francis Pinchon the wife of Mr. William Pinchon: she was a widow, a matron of the

church at Dorchester wr Mr Pinchon married her, she came with the first company Ano. 1630.

Mris. Mary Dummer the wife of Mr. Richard Dummer, she was a Godly woman but by the seduction of some of her acquaintances she was led away into the new opinions in Mris. Hutchinson's time. and her husband removing to Newbury, she there openly declared herselfe, and did also (together with other's endeavors) seduce her husband and persuaded him to returne to Boston, where she being yonng with child and ill, she died in a most uncomfortable manner. But we believe God took her away in mercy from worse evil which she was falling into and we doubt not she is gone to heaven.

Talmage the wife of William Talmage, she was a grave matron and godly woman and after her husband was removed to Linne a few years she died and left a gracious savor behind her.

Ann Shelly a maide servant she came to this land in the year 1632 and was married to . . . . . Foxall a godly brother of the church of Scituate.

Rebeckah Short a maide servant, she came in the yeare 1632, and was married to . . . . . Palmer a godly man of Charleatown church.

Judith Bugby the wife of Richard Bugbie.

Florance Carman the wife John Carman.

Mary Blott a maide servant she came in the yeare 1632 and was after married to Thomas Woodford of this church, who afterwards removed to Conecticott to Hartford church where she lived in Christian State.

William Hills a man servant he came over in the yeare 1632—he married Phillice Lyman the daughter of Richard Liman, he removed to Hartford on Conecticott, where he lived several years, wth out giving such good satisfaction to the . . . . . of the saints.

Mary Gamlin a maid servant, daughter of Rob : Gamlin the Eldr. she came with her father in the yeare 1632, she was a very gracious maiden : she died in Mr. Pinchon's family of the small pox in the yeare 1633.

Robert Gamlin *Junior*, he arrived at N. E. the 20th of the 3d month, he brought only one child who was the sonne of his wife by a former husband, his name is John Mayo. he was but a child.

Elizabeth his first borne was borne about the 24th of the 4th month : ano. dni : 1634.

Joseph borne the 16th of the 10th month ano. d. 1636.

Benjamin borne the 20th of the 6th month 1639.

Elizabeth Gamlin the wife of Robert Gamlin Junior.

Phillis Lyman the daughter of Richard Lyman—she came to the land with her father ano. 1631. God wrought upon her heart in this land—she grew deaft : which disease increasing was a great afflicion to her—she was married to William Hills and lived with him at Hartford on Conecticot.

John Moody, he came to the Land in the yeare 1633 : he had no children—he had 2 men servants

yt were ungodly especially one of them who in his passione would wish himselfe in hell: and use desperte words, yet had a good measure of knowledge: these 2 servants would goe to the oister banke in a boate and did against the counsel of theire Governor, where they lay all night and in the morning early when the tide was out, they gathering oysters did unskilfully leave their boate afloate in the verge of the channel yt they could not come neare it which made them cryout and hollow but being very early and remote were not heard till the water had risen very high upon them to the arme holes, as it's thought and then a man from Rocksbrough meeting house heard them cry and call and he cried and ran when all pursued and seeing thare boate swam to it and hasted to them, but they were both so drowned before any help could possibly come—a dreadful example of God's disapprobation against obstinate servants.

Sarah Moody the wife of John Moody—

John Walker—

Elizabeth Hinds, a maidservant—she came in the yeare 1633. she had some weaknesses, but upon the church's admonition she was afterwards married to Alexander . . . . . of Boston whither she was dismissed.

Elizabeth Ballard a maide servant—she came in the year 1633, and was soone after joyned to the church—she was afterwards married to Robert Sever of this church, where she led a godly conversation.

John Porter.

Margaret Porter the wife of John Porter.

William Cornewell.

Joane Cornewell, the wife of William Cornewell.

Samuel Basse.

Ann Basse the wife of Samuel Basse.

Nicholas Parker, he came to N. E. in the year 1633, about the 7 month : he brought two children Mary and Nicolas : Johannah his third child was borne the first of the 4th month 1635 . . . . . he removed from us to the church of Boston.

Ann Parker the wife of Nicolas Parker.

Phillip Sherman, he came into the Land in the yeare 1633, a single man and after married Sarah Odding, the daughter of the wife of John Porter, by a former husband—this man was of a mealancholy temper, he lived honestly and comfortably among us severall years, upon a just calling went for England and returned againe with a blessing : But after his father in Law John Porter was so carried away with these opinions of families and schisme, he followed them and removed with them to the Island [Rhode Island . . . . .]—he behaved himself sinfully in those matters (as may appeare in the story) and was cast out of the church.

Margaret Huntington widdow, she came in the yeare 1633—her husband dyed by the way of the small pox, she brought . . . . . children with her.

Thomas Pigge.

Mary Pigge the wife of Thomas Pigge.

Samuel finch.

Martha Parke the wife of William Parke.

John Tatman.

Thomas Willson he arrived in N. E. in the 4 month ano 1633, he brought 3 children, Humfry, Samuel, Joshua—

Deborah borne in the 6 month 1634.

Lidea borne in the 9 month 1636.

He had his house and all substances consumed wth fire to his great impoverishing being from home.

He was a very weake man, yet was he out of affection to the persons of some led aside into error, schisme and very proud and contemptuous carriage for which he was cust out of the church and he went away with Mr. Wheelwright. But the Lord awakened his heart so yt after years he returned and regretted and was reconciled to the church and recommended to the church of Christ at

Margery Johnson the wife of John Johnson.

Ann Wilson the wife of Thomas Wilson.

Jasper Rawlings.

Joshua Hues, he came into the Land a single man ; about the 7 month of the year 1633, and joyned to the church about half a yeare after and his wife being the daughter of . . . . . Gouldstone came the next summer and abode at Watertown, where she was adjoined to the church ; and in the 8th month 1634 he married her ; and she was then recommend-

ed to our church—his first born son Joshua Hewes was borne the 19 day of the 8th month 1639, but dyed the 19 day of 10th month 1639, it died of convulsive fitts.

Isaac Johnson.

Ralph Hinningway a man servant.

Sarah Odding, she was daughter in law to John Porter and came with her parents and was after married to Phillip Sherman of thls church.

Thonas Hills a man servant, he came in the year 1633, he lived among us in good esteeme and Godly and dyed about the 11 or 12 month 1634 and left a good savor behind him—he was a very faithfull and prudent servant and a good christian—he dyed in Mr. Eliot's family.

Thomas Hale a single man, he lived but a short time wth us, but he removed to Hartford on Connecticot where God blessed him wth a good measure of increase of grace—he afterwards returned and maryed Jane Lord one of or membrs aboute the 12th month 1639 and the next Spring returned to Conecticot.

Edward Riggs.

Walker the wife of John Walker.

Hues a maid servant.

John Stow—he arrived at N. E. the 7th of the 3d month an'o 1634—he brought his wife and 6 children, Thomas, Elizabeth, John, Nathaniel, Samuel, Thankful.

Elizabeth Stow the wife of John Stow—she

was a very godly matron, a blessing not only to her family, but to all the church—when she had lead a christian conversation a few years among us, she dyed and left a good savor behind her.

John Cumpton.

Abraham Newell, he came to N. E. in the yeare 1634, he brought 6 children, Ruth, Grace, John, Isaac, the youngest was born at . . . . . they came, and was baptized here wheu his father joyned to the church by virtue of his parents covenant.

Freeborne.

Sarah Burrell the wife of . . . . . Burrel.

Robert Potter.

Isabell Potter the wife of Robert Potter.

Eizabth Haward a maide servant.

Richard Pepper.

Mary Pepper the wife of Richard Pepper.

William Perkins.

Robert Sever.

Disborough the wife of Walter Disborough.

Christopher Peake a single man.

Edward Paison a man servant,

Nicholas Bakeb.

Joseph Welde.

Elisabeth Wise a widdow.

Thomas Bell.

Mr. Tho. Bell and his wife had letters of Dismission granted and sent to England a. d. 1654, 7 m. [cherish his name and memory as a noble benefactor of the town.]

WILLIAM WEBB.

ADAM MOTT.

SARAH MOTT the wife of Adam Mott.

RICHARD CARDER.

Mris ANNA VASSAILE the wife of Mr. William Vassaile, her husband brought 5 children to this Land—Judith, Francis, John, Margret, Mary—

LAURENCE WHILTAMORE—

JOHN RUGGLES, he came to N. E. in the yeare 1635, and soone after his comeing joyned to the church, he was a lively christian *knowne to many of the church in old England, where many of the church injoyed society together* he brought his first borne John Ruggles with him to N. E, and his second son was still borne in the 11th month 1636 of which his wife dyed.

BARBARA RUGGLES the wife of John Ruggles, she was a Godly Christian woman and joyned to the church with her husband—the power of the grace of Christ did much shine in her life and death, she was much afflicted . . . . . in which sickness she manifested much patience and faith ; she dyed in child bed the 11th month 1636 and left a godly savor behind her.

ISAACK HEATH [of whom an account has already been given.]

JOHN ATWOOD.

PHILLIP ELIOT—he dyed abont the 22d of the 8th month : 57 : he was a man of peace and very faithfull—he was many years in the office of a Dea-

kon wh he discharged faithfully—in his latter years he was very lively, useful and active for God, in his cause, the Lord gave him so much acceptance in the hearts of the people yt he dyed under many of the offices of trust yt are usually put upon men of his rank, for besides his office as a Deakon he was a Deputy to the Gen : Court, he was a Commissioner for the judgmt of the Towne,—he was one of the 5 men to order the prudential affairs of the towne ; and he was chosen to be Feefee of the publike schools in Roxbury."

ELIZABETH BOWIS.

MARTHA ASTWOOD the wife of John Astwood.

JASPER GUN

THOMAS BIRCHARDE.

JOHN CHENY he came into the Land in the yeare 1635 he brought 4 children, Mary, Martha, John, Daniel. Sarah his 5th child was borne in the last month of the same yeare 1635, cal'd february, he removed from our church to Newbury the end of the next summer 1636.

MARTHA CHENY the wife of John Cheny—

MARY NORRICE a maide—she came into the land . . . . .she was daughter to Mr. Edward Norrice who came into the land . . . . . and was called and ordained to be Teacher to the church at Salem, where he served the Lord Christ.

HENRY BULL a man servant, he came to the Land . . . . . he lived honestly for a good season, but on the suddaine (being weake and affectionate) he

was taken and transported with the opinions of familism and running in that schisme he fell into many and grosse sins of lying, &c, (as may be sene in the story) for which he was excommunicated after wch he removed to the Island. [Rhode Island.]

Mr. Thomas Jenner.

Bell, the wife of Thomas Bell.

James How.

How, the wife of James How.

Birchard, the wife of Thomas Birchard.

John Graves. He arived in the 3d month 1633 —he brought 5 children : John, Samuel, Jonathan, Sarah, Mary. His wife quickly died, and he married Judith ———, a maide servant, by whom his first child Hannah was borne about the end of the 7th month 1636.

Mr. John Gore.

Mary Swaine, a maide servant. Her father lived at Watertowne and did remove with them to Conecticott, whither we recommended her, and she after did marrie to one at Newhaven, and she was dismissed to yt church.

Jane Lorde, a maide servant. She came over in the yeare. She lived a godly life among us, and in the yeare 1640 she was married to Thomas Hale, one of the church who removed to Hartford on Conecticott, where they lived well approved of the saints.

Giles Paison, a single man—he married o'r sister Elizabeth *Dowell* [?].

Edward Porter, he came in the yeare 1636 ; he brought two children with him, John, about 3 years old & William about a yeare ould ; his 3d child Elizabeth was born in o'r Church in the 10th month of the yeare 1637—his 4th child Hannah was borne in the 9th month of yeare 1639.

Elizabeth Eliot the wife of Philip Eliot.

Newell the wife of Abraham Newell.

Elizabeth Dowell a maide servant—she was married to our brother Giles Paison.

Phillis Pepper a maide servant.

Robert Williams.

Judith Weld the second wife of Mr. Thomas Weid.

Samuel Hagbourne.

Elizabeth Williams the wife of Robert Williams.

Katheren Hagbourne the wife of Samuel Hagbourne.

Abraham How.

How the wife of Abraham How.

Arthur Geary.

Geary, the wife of Arthur Geary.

Thomas Ruggles he came to N. E. in the yeare 1637, he was elder brother to John Ruggles, children of a Godly fathr; he joyned to the church soone after his coming *being as well known as his brothr*—his first borne son dyed in England—his second son John was brought over a servant by Phillip Eliot : & he brought two other children with him:

Sarah & Samuel. He had a great sickness the yeare after his coming, but the Lord recovered him in mercy.

Mary the wife of Thomas Ruggles—she joyned to the church with her husband & approved her selfe a godly Christian by a holy & blamelesse conversation being converted not long before their coming from England.

Edward Bridges.

Johnson the wife of Isaak Johnson.

Christian Spisor a maide servant.

Mris Rhoda Gore the wife of Mr. John Goare.

Rachel Write, a maide servant—she was married to our brother John Leavins.

Johanna Boyse a maide.

Thomas Mihill.

Mihill the wife of Mihill.

Boyse the wife of Boyse.

Mathew Boyse.

Green widdow.

Porter the wife of Edward Porter.

Mr John Miller.

[The obscurity respecting Miller is somewhat cleared up by an entry in the church records, viz. 1647. month 6, day 8, Susan Miller, daughter to Mr. John Miller, *once an Eldr of o'r church, afterwards* at Rowley he pr'ched, *and then* was called to Yarmouth, baptized. He received the degree of B. A. in 1627 at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge —was an Elder of Roxbury church, town clerk of

Rowley 1639–1641; Oct. 25, 1641 declined an invitation to preach at Woburn ; Sept. 1642, refused to go on a missionary tour to Virginia "because of his bodily weakness;" Dec. 1642, was one of the grantees of Newbury, where he may have resided ; minister in Yarmouth, Mass. as early as May 1647 till about March 18, 1663, then preached at Groton, where he died June 12 or 14. 1663—He was succeeded at Yarmouth by the Rev. Thomas Thornton, about 1663 to 1694, who died at Boston in 1700–1, aged nearly 93. Mr. Thornton in his old age had the Rev. John Cotton as his colleague. Mr. Miller's son John married Margaret, dau. of Gov. Josiah Winslow, Dec. 24, 1659, and died June 1711, leaving three sons and eight daughters.—"*Yarmouth Register,*" *edited by Amos Otis, Esq.; Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence ; Hubbard's Hist.; N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. ; Mass, Hist. Coll. ; Coffin's Newbury ; Ancient Rec. of Towns and Churches, &c.*]

Mrs. Lidea Miller, the wife of Mr. John Miller.

George Holmes.

William Chandler, he came to N. E. aboute the yeare 1637, he brought 4 small children : Thomas, Hannah, John, William ; his 5th child Sarah was borne here, he lived a very religious and godly life among us, and fell into a consumption to which he had been long inclined. he lay neare a yeare sick, in all which time his faith, patience, & Godly-

ness & contentation so shined that Christ was much glorified in him—he was a man of weake parts, but excellent faith and holiness, he was a very thankful man and much magnified God's goodness. He was poor, but God prepared the hearts of his people to him that he never wanted that which was (at least in his esteem) very plentifull and comfortable to him —he died about the . . . . . in the yeare 1641, and left a sweet memory and savor behind him.

Hannah Chandler the wife of William Chandler.

Webb, the wife of William Webb, she followed baking, and through her covetous mind she made light waight after many admonitions, & after sundry rebukes of o court, & officers in the market, & after her speciall promise to the contrary, yet was a[gain] scandalously discovered in open market; as also for a habit of lying and shifting, after much admonition, & also for a gross ly in publick, flatly denying that after she waighed her dough, she never nimed off bits of each loaf, wch yet was by 4 wittnesses testifyed, & after appeared to be a common if not a constant practice, for all wch gross sinns she was excommunicated the 23d day of the 8th month ano. 1642, her ways having long been a grief of heart to her Godly neighbors. But afterwards she was reunited to the church, and lived christianly and dyed comfortably.

Silence Robbinson the wife of Thomas Robbinson.

Mris SHEAFE a widdow.

Mr. BLACKBURNE.

Mris BLACKBURNE the wife of Mr Blackburne.

SAMUEL CHAPIN.

——— GRIGGS.

RICHARD PEACOCKE was dismissed to ye church at Boston 9th. 5th. 1665.

JANE PEACOCKE the wife of Richard Peacocke.

JOHN ROBERTS he came to New England in the yeare 1636—he brought with him his aged mother, wife,and seven children : Thomas and Edward, sons, Elisabeth, Margery, Jones, Alice, Lidea, Ruth, Deborah, daughters—*he was one of the first fruits of Wales that came to N. E.* called to Christ by the ministry of that Reverend & worthy instrument Mr Weath.

JAMES ASTWOOD he arrived at N. E. in the yeare 1638, the 3d month. He brought a young childe which was buryed here. James his first borne here, was born about the 6th day of the 10th month 1638. John was borne about the 15 of the 7th month 1640, and dyed in the end of the 12 month the same yeare. John his 3d son was born about the beginning of the 12th month 1641. He was dismissed to the new church at Boston.

SARAH ASTWOOD the wife of James Astwood.

GEORGE KILBORNE a man servant.

DOROTHY HARBEETLE, a maide servant.

ANN WALLIS, a maide servant.

Mris MARTHA PARKS, the wife of ———.

Mr. Thomas Dudley [was born at the town of *Northampton*, in the year 1576, *the only son of captain Roger Dudley, who being slain in the wars*, left this our *Thomas*, with his only sister, for the *Father of the orphans to take them up.* In the family of the Earl of *Northampton* he had opportunity perfectly to learn the points of *good behaviour ;* and here having fitted himself to do many other benefits unto the world, he next became *a clerk unto Judge Nichols*, who being *his kinsman by the mother's side, therefore took the more special notice of him. From his relation to this judge*, he had and used an advantage to attain such a skill in the *law*, as was of great advantage to him in the future changes of his life ; and the *judge* would have preferred him unto the higher imployments, whereto his prompt *wit* not a little recommended him, if he had not been by death prevented. But before he could appear to do much at the *pen*, for which he was very well accomplished, he was called upon to do something at the *sword ;* for being a young gentleman well known for his ingenuity, courage and conduct, when there were soldiers to be raised by order from *Queen Elizabeth* for the *French* service, in the time of King *Henry* the Fourth, the young sparks about Northampton were none of them willing to enter into the service, until a commission was given unto our young *Dudley* to be their *captain ;* and then presently there were *fourscore* that listed under him. At the head of these he went over into the Low Countries, which

was then an *academy of arms* as well as *arts;* and thus he came to furnish himself with endowments for the *field* as well as for the *bench.* The post assigned unto him with his company, was after at the siege of *Amiens*, before which the *King* himself was now encamped; but the providence of God so ordered it, that when parties were drawn forth in order to battel, a treaty of *peace* was vigorously set on foot, which diverted the battel that was expected. Captain *Dudley* hereupon returned into *England*, and settling himself about Northampton, he married a gentlewoman whose extraction and estate were considerable; and the situation of his habitation after this helped him to enjoy the ministry of Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Cleaver*, Mr. *Winston*, and Mr. *Hildersham*, all of them excellent and renowned men; which *puritan ministry* so seasoned his heart with a sense of religion, that he was a devout and serious Christian, and a follower of the ministers that most effectually preached *real Christianity* all the rest of his days. The spirit of *real Christianity* in him now also disposed him unto *sober nonconformity;* and from this time, although none more hated the *fanaticisms and enthusiasms* of wild *opinionists*, he became a *judicious Dissenter* from the *unscriptual ceremonies* retained in the Church of England. It was not long after this that the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Compton*, and other persons of quality, made such obvervations of him, as to commend him unto the service of the Earl of Lincoln, who was then a young man, and newly come into

the possession of his Earldom, and of what belonged thereunto. The grandfather of this noble person had left his heirs under vast entanglements, out of which his father was never able to extricate himself; so that the difficulties and incumbrances were now devolved upon this *Theophilus*, which caused him to apply himself unto this our *Dudley* for his assistances, who proved so able and careful and faithful a *steward* unto him, that within a little while the *debts* of near twenty thousand pounds, whereinto the young Earl found himself desperately ingulphed, were happily waded through; and by his means also a *match* was procured between the young Earl and the daughter of the Lord *Say*, who proved a most virtuous lady and a great blessing to the whole family. But the Earl finding Mr. *Dudley* to be a person of more than ordinary discretion, he would rarely, if ever, do any matter of any moment without his advice; but some into whose hands there fell some of his manuscripts after his leaving of the Earl's family, found a passage to this purpose. *The Estate of the Earl of* Lincoln, *I found so and so much in debt, which I have discharged, and have raised the rents unto so many hundreds* per annum; *God will, I trust, bless me and mine in such a manner. I can, as sometimes* Nehemiah *did, appeal unto God, who knows the hearts of all men, that I have with integrity discharged the duty of my place before him.*

I had prepared and intended a more *particular* account of this gentleman; but not having any oppor-

tunity to commit it unto the *perusal* of any descended from him, (unto whom I am told it will be unacceptable for me to publish any thing of this kind, by *them* not *perused*) I have laid it aside, and summed all up in this more *general account.*

It was about nine or ten years, that Mr. *Dudley* continued a *steward* unto the Earl of Lincoln ; but then growing desirous of a more private life, he retired into *Boston*, were the acquaintance and ministry of Mr. *Cotton* became no little satisfaction unto him. Nevertheless the Earl of *Lincoln* found that he could do no more without Mr. *Dudley*, than *Pharaoh* without his *Joseph*, and prevailed with him to resume his former employment, until the storm of persecution upon the *nonconformists* caused many men of great worth to transport themselves into *New England.* Mr. *Dudley* was not the least of the worthy men that bore a part in this transportation, in hopes that in an *American* wilderness they might peaceably attend and enjoy the pure worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. When the first undertakers for that plantation came to know him, they soon saw *that* in him, that caused them to chuse him their *deputy governour*, in which capacity he arrived unto these coasts in the year 1630, and had no small share in the distresses of that young plantation, whereof an account by him written to the Countess of *Lincoln*, has been since published unto the world. Here his *wisdom* in managing the most weighty and thorny affairs was often signalized : his *justice* was a per-

petual terror to evil doers : his *courage* procured his being the first *major-general* of the colony; when they began to put themselves into a *military figure.* His *orthodox piety* had no little influence unto the deliverance of the country from the contagion of the *famalistical errors*, which had like to have overturned all. He dwelt first at *Cambridge ;* but upon Mr. *Hooker's* removal to *Hartford*, he removed to *Ipswich ;* nevertheless, upon the importunity and necessity of the government for his coming to dwell nearer the center of the whole, he fixed his habitation at *Roxbury*, two miles out of *Boston*, where he was always at hand upon the public exigencies. Here he died *July* 31, 1653, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; and there were found after his death in his pocket, these lines of his own composing, which may serve to make up what may be wanting in the character already given him.

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach, shew
My dissolution is in view.
Eleven times seven near liv'd have I,
And now God calls, I willing die.
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my day is done.
My span is measur'd, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old.
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead.
Farewel dear wife, children and friends,
Hate heresie, make blessed ends.

Bear poverty, live with good men;
So shall we live with joy agen.
Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a *toleration* hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresie and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My *Epitaph's*, I DY'D NO LIBERTINE.

But when I mention the *poetry* of this gentleman as one of his accomplishments, I must not leave unmentioned the fame with which the *poems* of one descended from him have been celebrated in both *Englands*. If the rare learning of a *daughter* was not the least of those bright things that adorned no less a Judge of *England* than Sir *Thomas More*; it must now be said, that a Judge of *New England*, namely, *Thomas Dudley*, Esq., had a *daughter* (besides other children) to be a *crown* unto him. Reader, *America* justly admires the learned women of the other *hemisphere*. She now prays, that into such catalogue of *authoresses*, as *Beverovicius*, *Hottinger*, and *Voetius*, have given unto the world, there may be a room now given unto Madam ANN BRADSTREET, the daughter of our governour *Dudley*, and the consort of our governour *Bradstreet*, whose *poems*, divers times printed, have afforded a grateful entertainment unto the ingenius, and a monument for her memory beyond the stateliest *marbles*. It was upon these *poems* that an ingenious person bestowed this *epigram*:

Now I believe *tradition*, which doth call
The *Muses*, *Virtues*, *Graces*, *females* all.
Only they are not *nine*, *eleven*, or *three*;
Our *auth'ress* proves them but an *unity*.
Mankind, take up some blushes on the score;
Monopolize *perfection* hence no more.
In your own arts confess yourselves outdone;
The *moon* hath totally eclips'd the *sun*:
Not with her sable mantle muffling him,
But her bright *silver* makes his *gold* look dim:
Just as his beams force our pale lamps to wink,
And earthly *fires* within their ashes shrink.

Mather's Magnalia, pp. 120-3.

Will of Thomas Dudley,

Of Roxbury in New England, made in perfect health, the 28th of Aprill, 1652; for my sole I commend it unto the hande of my God in whome I haue beliewed, whome I haue loued, which hee hath promised to receiue in Iesus Christ my redeemer & sauiour, with whome I desire euer to bee, leauing this testimony behind mee for the Vse & example of my posteritie, & any other vpon whome it may worke, that I haue hated & doe hate euery falce way in religion, not onely the old Idolitry & superstition of Popery which is wearing away, but much more (as being much worse) the more herisies blasphamies & errer of late sprunge vpp in our natiue country of England & secretly receieied & fostered. My body I desire to bee buried neare my first wife,

if my present wife be liuing at my death. My temporall estate I intend to despose of it as iustly and equally as I can contriue it, betweene the posteritie of my childn by my first wife, and my children by my last wife, accounting *Thomas Dudley & John Dudley* my grandchildren (whome I haue brought upp) in some sort as my immediate children. First what I couenanted at my marriage with my prsent wife, to giue her, & such childne as I should haue by her, be made good vnto them, with this condition & explanacon ; that all my lands in Roxbury, being duely vallued by my executor, wth all my goods, debts, plate, household stuffe & bookes—My sonne *Joseph Dudley* to haue a double portion, & *Paule Dudley* & *Deborah Dudley*, each a single porcon ; —land to goe to *Joseph* according to my foremenconed couenant, & ye Goods & debts to *Paule* & *Deborah*. If the land amount to more then a double porcon, then to take ovt of ye same from *Joseph*, and giue it to *Paule* & *Deborah*. My present wife & my three children to haue all my lands, goods & debts, (except what I giue to others) I giue to the children of my sonne *Samuell Dudley*, the 6th part of my mill at Watertowne, & of the house & fficene acres of land in Watertown, together with a 6th part of ye debt wch *Thos: Mayhew* his heires doe owe me for not performing their bargaine wth me, for wch the said myll was pte of my assurance—to be equally divided among them.—To the childn of my dau. *Bradstreet*, another 6th.—To the children of my

dau. *Denison*, another 6th—To the children of my dau. *Woolbridge* another 6th. Also vnto to the aforesaid *Thomas Dudley*, another 6th ; & to the aforesaid *John Dudley* the other 6th. If my sonne *Samull Dudley*, or any of my three daughters, *Bradstreete*, *Denison*, or *Woodbridge*, have any more children, they shall haue equal shares with the rest. To enter upon said mill & lands the 20th day of October next, after my death & not before.—They to pay my dau. *Sarah Pacy*, half yearly, 20 *s.* apiece yearly. To the deacons of the church of Roxbury, 5 markes, by them to be distributed to the poor of said towne. Worthy & beloued friends, *John Elliott*, teacher of the church at Roxbury, *Samull Danforth*, pastor of the said church, *John Johnson*, Surveyor Generall of the Armes, & *Willim Parkes* of the said church, giueing to each of them, if they shall liue, 2 years after my death, 5 *l.* apiece—that they will doe for mee & mine as I would haue done for them & theirs in the like case. In my former will I have named my sons executors, but better considering of their remote dwelling, &c., I have chosen my aforesaid friends to be executors.

THO : DUDLEY.

To grand-childe *Thomas Dudley*, 10 *l* a yeare, for 2 yrs after my death, besides what I shall owe the colledge for him at my death. To grand-childe, *John Dudley*, 15 *l.* a yeare for 3 yeares after my death. To wife I give the tyme & interest I haue

in *John Ranken*, also all my rent & profitts of my will at Watertowne, from the day of my death till the 20th of October, then next following, on condition that she giue to my dau., *Sarah Pacy*, her dieett, &c., or after the rate of 6 *l.* by the yeare, till she is to receive what I haue giuen her out of my will—I meane her first payment thereof. Whereas my sonne, *Samuell Dudley*, hath been importunate with me to mayntaine his sonne, *Thomas*, at ye colledge at Cambridge, untill the month of August, 1654, when he is to take his 2d. degree, I haue consented thereto, but soe that the case of the Educacon of my younger children doth compell me to retreate and revoake from my said sonne, *Samuell*, and his other children & their heeres, the 6th part of my mill & lands at Watertowne, and do revoake & call back also 20 *l.* I gaue to the said *Thomas Dudley* his soone, & 45 *l.* I gaue to *John Dudley*, another of the sonnes of my said sonne *Samuell Dudley*, wch I hereby doe, yett because it is not equall that *John Dudley*, aforesaid (who hath been seruisable to mee) should losse any thing by my benefycence to his brother, I do hereby giue vnto him, the said *John Dudley*, all the said 6th part of my myll & land at Watertowne, wch I had formerly giuen to his father, or his younger brothers & sisters, so that I haue settled a 3d part of the said mill vpon him the said *John Dudley*, & a 6th part vpon the said *Thomas Dudley*. Witness my hand, this 13th day of April, 1653. THOMAS DUDLEY.

My will is that this schedule be annexed to my will, & be as authenticall as the same, and my meaning is, that this 6th part of the mill at Watertowne be charged wth 40 s. a yeare, to be paid to my dau. *Sarah Pacy*, as before this schedule was made.—My dau. *Pacy* to haue guen her a feather bed & boulster, wch shee had when she liued last at Boston, one yellowe Rugg & 2 blanketts of the worser sort, 2 paire of little sheetes, & a chest.

May 28th, 1653. THO : DUDLEY.

The charge of my long sicknesse, I thereby being disenabled to make bargaines as I was wont for the vpholding of my estate, I finde my estate thereby, and by other meanes soe weakned, that the due care of my thre youngest children's education compelleth mee to revoake & detract a 6th part of what I had giuen to mine other children & grand childn out of my will, & settle it vpon my three younger childn, I do therefore recall from my other childn. a 6th part out of euery share wch by my will I had formerly giuen them. And I giue the said 6th parts to my said three youngest children. Witness my hand to this Schedule also. Witness, *Samuel Danforth*, who wrot this, as *Mr. Dudley* dictated to me by his direction, this 8th day of July, 1653.

My three youngest childn. shalbe rateably charged for what is here giuen them to my daughter *Sarah Pacy*, as the others are. THO : DUDLEY.

Mr. *John Johnson*, on the 15th of August, 1653, appeered before the Magistrates, & did on his oath present this as the last will of *Tho : Dudley*, late of Roxbury, Esqr. wh was found in the chest of the said THOMAS DUDLEY, psently after his decease, vnder locke & key.

Edwd. Rawson, Recorder.

The magistrates did allow & approue of this will with the schedules annexed. Present, *Richard Bellingham*, Esq. *Mr. Nowell*, & *Mr. Hibbins*,

Edwd. Rawson, Recorder.

Genealogical Register, *Vol. V. pp.* 295–7.]

Mris DOROTHY DUDLEY ["a gentlewoman whose extraction and estate were considerable," wife of Gov. Thomas Dudley, died December 27, 1643, aged 61. Born 1582.]

MARY BRIDGES the wife of Edward Bridges.

JOHN TRUMBELL.

ANDERSON.

ROBERT PEPPER a man servant.

Mr. JOHN HALL.

JOHN BOWLES [for many years a ruling elder of the church in Roxbury. The Records contain many particulars respecting him, out of which an account will be collected.]

DOROTHY BOWLES the wife of John Bowles—[came from England with him, was a member of the church, and died Nov. 3d, 1649, leaving no

children. Mr. Bowles's second wife was Elizabeth, only child of elder Isaac Heath.]

Thomas Bumsted, he came to this land in the 5th month of the yeare 1640, he brought 2 small children, Thomas and Jeremiah. Hannah his daughter, borne the 25 day of the 11th month ano. 1641. He and his wife were dismissed to Boston. [His will, made 25 May 1677, proved 4th August after, names a son Jeremy, and three daughters: Hannah, wife of Thomas Sherwood, Mary wife of Ambrose Dawes, and Mary, wife of Samuel Bosworth.

Winthrop tells a story of "a child of one Bumsted, a member of the church," of about eight years of age, "that fell from a gallery in the meeting-house, about eighteen feet high, and brake the arm and shoulder, (and was also committed to the Lord in the prayers of the church, with earnest desires, that the place where his people assembled to his worship might not be defiled with blood,) and it pleased the Lord that this child was soon perfectly recovered.—*Hist. of Mass.* ii. 203.]

Susane Bumsted, the wife of Thomas Bumsted.

Cheny the wife of William Cheny.

Barbara Welde, the second wife of Joseph Weld. [See many interesting particulars in Savage's Winthrop, volume i. 78, by which it appears that he was a brother of Rev. Thomas Weld, of Roxbury, the enemy of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, and was appointed her keeper, until the Spring, when the

sentence of banishment by the General Court might be executed — "where," as Winthrop says, "she was well provided for, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else." But it appears that Winthrop himself was the author of the disgusting "story" about Mrs. Hutchinson; and that Weld wrote, as he said, merely the preface. This appears conclusively by Bailey's tract, entitled "A Dissuasive," &c. Weld says, that he saw it in print, &c. The probability is, that the work was printed, and not published, when it first came to Weld's hand, and that it was so far altered and enlarged, as to receive the preface by Weld as an endorsement to Winthrop's monstrous assertions in the "story," and with this additional authority from one present in England, a witness ready for personal examination, it was actually *published*, for the first time, in 1644. The reader is referred to Mr. Savage's well-deserved criticisms on this production in various notes to his edition of Winthrop's history. It is worthy of note, that Weld never ventured to return to New England, to meet the Hutchinson family. Captain Joseph Weld having been on the jury in the La Tour and D'Aulnay case, soon after went to London, and was there arrested and forced to find sureties in a bond of 4000 pounds. The story is related in Winthrop, ii. 247–8. The occurrence is thus set forth in the small quarto newspaper of 1645, entitled,

"Perfect Occurrences of Parliament And Chief Collections of Letters from the Armie." "*The* 19th Weeke." "From Friday the 2 of *May*, till Friday the 9 of the same. 1645."

"Monday, May the 5. 1645. A Petition was this day read in the house of Lords, concerning the Merchants of New England, directed; *To the Right Honourable the House of Peers, in Parliament assembled.* The Petition was from Alderman *Bartley*, and Master *Saint John*, two New England Merchants, Concerning Some damages that they had received by the English Inhabitants there, about a Charter-party that was made to a French man onely to go as a Passenger in their Ship, who accordingly was transported thither; and upon Some dispute in that Country, the people there (*whom some call a free State*) in assenting to the said Frenchman, which was imposed upon the Master of the Ship; onely upon a peremptory quarrell, to the great prejudice of the Merchants here."

Captain Weld's widow Barbara returned to Probate 4 (12) 1646 an inventory of her husband's Estate. appraised by Isaac Heath, Wm. Dennison, John Johnson and William Parke, at £202 8. 11. 3.]

Allis a maide servant.

Anderson the wife of Gowen Anderson.

John Mays.

Mays the wife of John Mays.

Lewis Jones.

Ann Jones the wife of Lewis Jones.

John Mathews. He was convicted of notorious drunkenness & cast out of ye Church, 1 of 3m. 1659. But afterward restored agayn upon his repentance.

Mathews the wife of —— Mathews.

Richard Woddy.

Woddy the wife of Richard Woddy.

Stebbins the wife of Martin Stebbins. She was so vyolent in her passion yt she offered vyolence to her husband, wch being divulged was of such infamy, yt she was cast out of sd church, but soone after she humbled herself & was received in againe.

Holmes the wife of George Holmes.

Judith Graves the wife of John Graves.

Totman the wife of John Totman.

Thomas Baker.

William Lewis.

Lewis the wife of William Lewis.

Sisly Chapin the wife of Samuel Chapin.

Elizabeth Roberts the wife of John Roberts.

Mr. Hugh Prichards, recommended from the church at Cape Ann. [Winthrop, vol. ii. page 307, 1647, says, "Captain [Joseph] Welde being dead, the young men of the town agreed together to choose one George Denison, a young soldier come lately out of the wars in England, which the ancient and chiefe men of the town understanding, they came together at the time appointed, and chose one Mr. Prichard, a godly man and one of the chief in the town, passing by their Lieutenant, fearing lest the young Deni-

son would carry it from him, whereupon much discontent and murmuring arose in the town. The young men were over strongly bent to have their will, although their election was void in law, (George Denison not being then a freeman,) and the ancient men over-voted them about twenty, and the lieutenant was discontented because he was neglected, &c. The cause coming to the court, and all parties being heard, Mr. Prichard was allowed, and the young men were pacified, and the lieutenant."]

Mris Elnor Prichard the wife of Mr. Hugh Prichard.

Scarbro' and wife of John Scarbro'.

Bridget Dennison the wife of George Dennison.

Elizabeth Baker the wife of Thomas Baker.

Mary Jordan a maide servant.

Edward White.

James Morgan.

Thomas Roberts.

Edmund Sheffeild, who was dismissed to ye Ch. at Brantrey.

John Woody.

Thomas Reives a man servant.

Mary Turner a maide servant.

Richard Goard.

Jon Starkweather the wife of Robert Starkweather.

Grace Newell; the daughter of Abraham Newell.

PHILIP TORIE.

RICHARD WOODDY, Junior.

SARAH the maid servant of bro. Park.

JOANE ATKINS the maide servant of Mr. Prichard. She married one Smith and had letters of dismission to Malden. this 13th 2m. 1669. [This entry indicates the probable date of making this record of the first comers, or this portion of it.]

WILLIAM FRANKLING, in whom we had good satisfaction in his Godlynesse, yet it pleased God to leave him to some acts of rigor & cruelty to a boy, his servant, who dyed under his hand ; but sundry sins he was guilty of, & the scandal so greate yt he was excommunicated yt day month, the 21 of the 2d m. 1644 & shortly after executed. [*Winthrop*, ii. 183, 184, thus relates the facts :

"The third matter which fell into consideration, at the said meeting at Salem, was about one Franklin, who at the last court of sssistants was found guilty of murder, but, some of the magistrates doubting of the justice of the case, he was reprieved till the next court of assistants. The case was this. He had taken to apprentice one Nathaniel Sewell, one of those children sent over the last year for the country ; the boy had the scurvy, and was withal very noisome, and otherwise ill disposed. His master used him with continual rigour and unmerciful correction, and exposed him many times to much cold and wet in the winter season, and used divers acts of rigour towards him, as hanging him in the chim-

ney, &c. and the boy being very poor and weak, he tied him upon an horse and so brought him (sometimes sitting and sometimes hanging down) to Boston, being five miles off, to the magistrates, and by the way the boy calling much for water, would give him none, though he came close by it, so as the boy was near dead when he came to Boston, and died within a few hours after. Those who doubted whether this were murder or not, did stick upon two reasons chiefly. 1. That it did not appear that the master's intention was to hurt him, but to reform him. 2. In that which was most likely to be the occasion or cause of his death, he was busied about an action which in itself was lawful, viz. the bringing of him before the magistrates; and murder cannot be committed but where the action and intention both are evil. To this it was answered, that this continual act of cruelty did bring him to death by degrees, and the last act was the consummation of it; and that this act, in regard to the subject, who, to the apprehension of all that saw him, was more fit to be kept in his bed than to be haled to correction, was apparently unlawful. As in case a man had a servant sick in bed of the small-pox, newly come forth, and that his master knowing and seeing these upon his body should, against the physician's advice, hale him forth of his bed into the open air in frosty weather, upon pretence that he might ease nature, &c., this act, in regard of the state of the subject, were utterly unlawful, and if the servant should die under

his hand. &c. it were murder in him. As for the intention, though prima intentio might be to reform him, yet sure proxima intentio was evil, because it arose from distemper of passion ; and if a man in a sudden passion kill his dear friend or child, it is murder, though his prima intentio were to instruct or admonish him : and in some cases where there appears no intention to hurt, as where a man knowing his act to have used to push, shall not keep him in, so as he kills a man, he was to die for it, though to keep an ox were a lawful act, and he did not intend hurt, but because he did not what he reasonably ought to prevent, &c. therefore he was a murderer. And that in Exodus if a master strike his servant with a rod, which is a lawful action, and he die under his hand, (as this servant did,) he was to die for it :—And that in Deut. if a man strike with a weapon or with his hand, or any thing wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer,—shows plainly, that let the means be what it may, if it be voluntarily applied to an evil intent, it is murder ; according to that judgment given against her that gave a potion to one to procure his love, and it killed him, it was adjudged murder.

All the magistrates seeming to be satisfied upon this conference, warrant was signed by the governour for his execution a week after, which was not approved by some, in regard of his reprieval to the next court of assistants. But it was without any good reason, for a condemned man is in the power of the

magistrate to be executed when he please, and the reprieval was no stipulation or covenant with him, but a determination among the magistrates for the satisfaction of some who were doubtful, which satisfaction being attained, currat lex &c. Pro. 22. He shall go to the pit, let no man hinder him.

This man had been admitted into the church of Roxbury about a month before, and upon this he was cast out; but the church, in compassion to his soul, after his condemnation, procured license for him to come to Roxbury, intending to receive him in again before he died, if they might find him truly penitent. But though presently after his condemnation he judged himself, and justified God and the court, yet then he quarrelled with the witnesses, and justified himself, and so continued even to his execution, professing assurance of salvation, and that God would never lay the boy his death to his charge, but the guilt of his blood would lie upon the country. Only a little before he was turned off the ladder, he seemed to apprehend some hardness of heart, that he could not see himself guilty of that which others did."]

Elizabeth Williams, daughter of John Williams. [There is a story about one John Williams, in Winthrop i. 241.]

Henry Farnham.

Elizabeth Pepper the wife of Robert Pepper.

Ann Direton, a maide servant.

Thomas Gardiner.

Widdow Gardiner.

Elizabeth How, daughter of Abraham How.

Ann Brewer daughter of Dan: Brewer.

Mary Paison wife of Edward Paison.

Hannah Wilson wife of Wilson. She is bro. Craft's daughter.

Elizabeth Clarke wife of James Clarke.—She is bro. Wright's daughter.

—— Stonehard the wife of John Stonehard.

Mary Wise the wife of Joseph Wise.

John Stebbin.

Ann Stebbin the wife of John Stebbin.

Goodwife Farrow.

Goodwife Reade.

Mary Heath.

John Stonhard.

Robert Harris.

John Turner.

Edward Dennison [was one of the sympathizers with the Hutchinson party. *Winthrop* i. 248]

Martha Medcalfe.

Georg Beard.

Samuel Williams, between 15 & 16 y of age.

John Weld.

Elizabeth Davis wife of William Davis.

Thankfull Pearepoynt, wife of John Peirpoint.

Hannah Heath, daughter of William Heath.

[After this, dates occur in the margin, and the entries are made in the hand of Mr. Danforth.]

March 4. 1649. Mris. BARKER, a Gentlewoman that came from Barbados hither for the Gospells sake we found her not so well acquainted wth her own heart & the wayes & workings of God's Spirit in converting a Sinner vnto God, yet full of Sweet affection & we feared a little too confident—we received her not wthout feares & Jealsouyes.

Goodwife GARDINER, the wife of Thomas Gardiner.

Goodwife GARDINER the wife of Peter Gardiner.

Goodwife LYON the wife of William Lyon. She had been sometime distracted.)

Goodwife PATCHIN a poor old woman.

May 12. 1650. SAMUEL DANFORTH recommended & dismissed from Cambridge Church & admitted here. [Danforth was one of the leading names. See Holmes's Annals, Allen's and Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, Rev. Samuel Sewall in Amer. Quar. Reg. etc. etc.]

Mrs. SARAH ALCOCK wife of Mr. John Alcocke.

Goodwife ELIZABETH DENNISON wife of Edward Dennison (she was ye daughter of Mr. Joseph Weld) confirmed.

SUSANNA POLLY the wife of John Polly.

June 30. 1650. Mr. JOHN ALCOCK confirmed.

HUGH THOMAS.

JOHN POLLY.

October 20. 1650. HUGH ROBERTS.

Nov. 17. 1650. JOHN PEREPOINT.

June 15. 1651. NICHOLAS WILLIAMS.

[After this date the second generation, the children of the first planters, are frequently mentioned.]

Nov. 23. 1651. William Garee sonne to broth'r Arthur Garee confirmed.

Isaac Heath son to William Heath confirmed.

March 23. 1651. Daniel Welde recomended vnto us from the church at Brantrey.

3m. 23d. 1652. Peleg Heath son of Willm Heath confirmed.

4m. 6d. '52. Sister Peake—sister Devotion.

4m 20d. Joseph Grigs.

Lydia Eliot daughter to Deacon [ ] Eliot, confirmed, since dismissed ye ch. at Taunton, Anno 1666.

3d. 2m. 1653. Abraham Newel, Junr. confirmed.

4m. 26d. Susanna Heath ye wife of Peleg Heath.

Hannah Garee ye wife of Willm Garee confirmed.

Magdalen Bullard, a maid servant of brother Williams Dismissed to Medfield this 22d of 3m. 1670, being married to John Parrich of Medfield.

John Ruggles junior confirmed.

29d. 11m. 1653. Tho. Weld confirmed, son to Mr· Tho. Weld, sometime Pastor of this church.

Margaret Weld ye wife of Mr. John Welde.

Theodea Williams wife of Samuel Williams daughter to Deacon Park confirmed.

14d. 13m. 1654. Abraham How confirmed.

13d. 3m. 1657. Goodman Griffin.

19. 5m. 1657. Mrs. Rebecca Burrows who came

from Virginia yt she might enjoy God in his Ordin-[ances] in N. E.

Elizabeth Clerk ye wife of Hugh Clark, being dismissed from Watertown churth.

—— Huntley ye wife of John Huntley.

11. 2m. 1658. John Hanchet.

12. 7m. 1658. Edward Morris admitted.

17. 8m. 1658. John Maioh was confirmed.

14. 9m. 1658. John Watson was confirmed.

21. 9m. 1658. Isaac Williams was confirmed.

23. 11m. 1658. Mary Childe ye wife of Benjamin Childe.

Mary Ruggles ye wife of John Ruggles, Junior.

Mary Heath ye wife of Isaac Heath, Junior.

Mary Griggs ye wife of John Griggs.

Martha Parkes, daughter to Deacon Parkes, confirmed.

13. 12m. 1658. Samuel Ruggles was confirmed.

15. 3m. ('59.) Samuel Mayes was confirmed.

22. 3m. ('59.) Sarah May, wife to John May, was confirmed.

Bridget Davis wife to Tobijah Davis, admitted.

Susanna Newell wife to Abraham Newell, Junior, was admitted.

Grace Morris wife to Edw. Morris admitted.

Exercise Felton a maid. of Salem, admitted.

11. 7m. ('59.) Hugh Clarke was admitted.

12, 12m. ('59) Elizabeth Bowen personally & solemnly owned ye covenant, & thereupon had her child Baptized.

29d. 12m. 1660. Mrs. Mary Danforth, being dismissed from Boston church, joyned in covenant here.

Mrs. Dorothy Welde, being dismissed from Lyn, was admitted here.

Sarah May, being dismissed from Dorchester, joyned here : an aged woman.

Hanna Hopkins dismissed from Dorchester joyned in this church.

27. 3m. 1660. John Mayes Junior was admitted to full Communion.

3d. 12m. 1660. Isaac Newell was admitted to full Communion.

7d. 2m. 1661. Mary Griffin wife of bro. [ ] Griffin joyned to this church.

Elizabeth Brewer wife to Nath. Brewer joyned to this church.

22. 7m. 1662. Hanna Ruggles wife to Samuel Ruggles.

Anne Garee, wife to Nath. Garee.

Elizabeth Newell, wife to Isaac Newell.

Mary Watson, wife to John Watson, Jun.

Sarah Peak wife to Jonathan Peake.

Hanna Mayo wife to John Mayo.

54. 9m. 1661. Remember Palfrey, a maid servant, since wife to Peter Aspinwall.

Dorcas Watson, daughter to John Watson, Sen., dismissed to Medford 10th 3m. 1670.

6th. 5m. 1662. Mrs. Sarah Eliot, wife to Mr. John Eliot Jun. [Son of the Apostle and first minister of Newton.

Elisabeth Speare. Mrs. Eliot's parentage and the exact date of her marriage are unknown ; she left one child, Sarah, afterward the wife of the Rev. and Hon. John Bowles. Mr. Eliot's 2d wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Major-General Gookin, of Cambridge, survived him and became the wife of Edmund Quinsey, Esq. of Braintree. Hon. John Eliot of Ct., Har. Col. 1685. was the only issue of her first marriage.]

22th. 1m. 1662-3. John Bridge. John More.

5th. 2m. 1663. Elisabeth Harris wife to Robt. Harris.

Rebecca Craft wife to John Craft.

Martha Newell wife to Jacob Newel.

Prudence Bridge, wife to John Bridge.

Elisabeth Brewer wife to Nath. Brewer.

7th. 4m. 1663. Richard Meede.

Alice Davis wife to William Davis.

1. 9m. 1663. Hanna Brewer wife to Daniel Brewer, daughter to Isaac Morrel, was admitted to full communion.

24. 2m. 1664. Thomas Woodward.

4th. 12m. 1664. Sarah Frissell, wife to James Frissell.

5th. 1m. 1664-5. William Cheney.

Robert Hawes.

16. 2m. 1665. John Chandler—Jacob Newell—solemnly owned ye covenant.

28. 3m. 1665. Mary, wife to Job Tyler. She was dismissed to Mendon 4m. 1672.

Sarah wife to Richd Chamberline; Elisabeth wife

to John Chandler—Sarah, wife to Thomas Foster ; admitted to full communion.

18th. 4m. 1665. Thomas Foster.

20. 6m. 1665. Edward Bugley. An old man.

Maria Pierrepoint wife to Robt Pierrepont.

24. 7m. 65. John Prentice son to o'r sister Watson.

5th. 9m. 65. William Lyons admittod to full communion.

Samuel Craft solemnly owned ye Covenant.

12. 9ber. 65. Benjamin Eliot, batchelor of Arts, was admitted to full communion.

1st 5m. 1666. John Gorton an old man admitted to full communion.

8th 5m. 1666. Mary Polly, ye wife of John Polly.

Desire truth Acrees ye wife of John Acrees.

22. 5. 1666. More ye wife of John More.

Sharp ye wife of John Sharp.

Elizabeth wife of Joseph Buckmaster, solemnly owned ye covenant.

12m. 1666. Timothy Stevens solemnly owned ye covenant.

24th 1m. ——. Sarah Stevens—Mary Marshcraft, solemnly owned ye covenant.

1. 19m. 1667. The wife of John Parker—Elizabeth Parker a maide, rec'd to full communion.

26. 11m. 1667. Mary Boltstone solemnly owned ye covenant.

22. 1m. 1667-8. Elizabeth ye wife of John White jun. solemnly owned ye coovenant.

5. 2m. 1668. Steven Williams & Sarah his wife solemnly owned ye covenant,

28. 4m. 1668. James Clark joyned himself to this Church.

22. 9m. 1668. Mary, wife to Nathaniel Johnson admitted, but not to full communion.

39. 3m. 1669. Joanna Davies, grand child to Mr. Nicholas Parker, owned ye covenant.

1. 6m. 1669. Mary, wife of John Hemingway Joanna, wife of Joshua Hemingway, ware admitted members of this Ch. tho' not to full communion.

10. 8m. 1669, —— wife to Tho Andrews solemnly owned ye covenant.

13. 12m. 1669. Mr. Joseph Dudley & Mrs Rebecca his wife solemnly owned ye covenant, as also Mary Parker, daughter to Edmund Parker.

20. 12. 1669. Martha, daughter to James Clark, was admitted to full communion.

30. 2m. 1670. Mary, wife to Caleb Lamb, solemnly owned the covenant.

3. 5m. (70) Samuel Craft admitted to full communion.

17. 5m. 70. Hanna wife to Joseph White solemnly owned ye covenant.

4. 7m. 70. Mary wife to Thomas Swan, solemnly owned ye covenant.

23. 8m. 70. Patience, wife to Nathaniel Homes, admitted but not to full communion.

18. 10m. 70. Decline Lamb, alias Smith, solemnly owned ye covenant.

8. 11m. 70. Deborah, wife to Jabesh Tatman, owned ye covenant.

19. 12m. 70. Andrew Gardiner & Sarah his wife; Sarah Cleaves, wife of William Cleaves—solemnly owned ye covenant.

2d 2m. 71. Susanna, wife to John Bennet solemnly owned ye covenant.

23. 2m. 71. John Holdbroke being dismissed from Dorchester, was admitted here tho' not to full communion.

30. 2m. 71. Elizabeth Whitney, daughter to Robert Harris—Mary wife to John Davis, daughter to bro. Devotion—Hanna, wife to Isaac Curtis, daughter to John Polly—solemnly owned the covenant.

Sarah wife to Sabin, daughter to bro. ———, dismissed to Rehoboth.

11. 1m. 71. Tho. Lyons absolved from censure & solemnly owned ye covenant.

23. 5m. 71. Mary Evans was admitted but not to full communion.

23. 5m. 71. Edward Porter, Ann his wife, his son William Porter, his daughters Elizabeth Nash, Hanna Dinely, Mary Bennit & Deborah Porter were all dismissed to the third church in Boston.

15. 8m. 71. Isaac Johnson Jun. dismissed to the church at Middleton on ye river.

22d 8m. 71. Mr. Joseph Dudley was admitted to full communion.

29. 8m. 71. Mrs. Rebecca Dudley wife to Mr. Joseph Dudley—Mary Goard wife to Richard Goard—Mary Evans wife to John Evans—Mary Davis wife to John Davis—admitted to full communion.